

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1878.

## The Week.

THE adjourned meeting of the bankers on the Silver question was held in this city on Thursday last. Representatives of fifty New York banks or insurance companies were present, of four Boston banks, and of one Philadelphian. The committee appointed to report on the question what effect the substitution of the 412½-grain dollar for gold would have on general business and on the institutions under their charge, and what measures should be taken to save their capital from the loss that would be caused by the change, reported that the proposed change would reduce the standard one-tenth; would prevent resumption in 1879; would seriously injure the public credit by defrauding the bondholders, and would cause a general prostration of business by the total destruction of confidence in the future, and by the creation of a standard so fluctuating that it has varied between January and July, in a single year, from 95 to 79½ cents. As to the measures to be adopted, the report recommended the appointment of a committee made up of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore bankers and merchants, to memorialize Congress against the pending Silver Bill and for a legal provision that if silver is made a legal tender, it shall be made a legal tender at its value in gold, and to keep a watch generally against attacks on the standard and on the public credit.

Mr. William E. Chandler's movement against the President, which was begun apparently with immediate reference to the approaching meeting of the Republican Convention in New Hampshire, has had for him an unfortunate termination. Instead of being received as a hero or "Moses," he found himself the object of much gross personal abuse from several prominent delegates, one of the oldest Republicans in the State, Mr. Tuck, calling him a "political tramp." The platform reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform, and particularly the civil-service part of it, in emphatic terms, eulogized President Hayes "while acknowledging honest difference of opinion with regard to past acts," denounced the anti-resumption movement and the silver movement, and pronounced factious and mischievous all attempts to reopen the Presidential controversy, or to question the President's title. In fact, the general result left Chandler in a somewhat ludicrous and humiliating position, and the newspapers have ever since been ridiculing him in an unkindly way. We must say on the poor fellow's behalf, however, that he is no worse and no better now than he was last fall when he was working in Florida to get a "fair count," and filling earth and air with his manifestoes and defiance. It was his despatch the day after the election which informed the smaller "workers" in Florida and South Carolina and Louisiana that all was not lost, and that the managers expected them to beat the enemy in making up the returns. He superintended the good work himself in Florida, but not being a bird, as Sir Boyle Roehe remarked, could not be in Louisiana at the same time, though his mouth must have watered when he heard and thought of the job Wells and Anderson had on hand. He is altogether a sorry sort of person for a moral party to have on its National Committee, and it is well he has been found out even now, if the better portion of the party will only learn something from the little trickster's career.

Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, has written a letter to the President expressing entire agreement with him in his views concerning the proper relations of the Executive and the Senate in the matter of appointments, and condemning the present custom of allowing Senators and Representatives to fill offices with their personal adherents, in terms with which everybody is now familiar. He says he is himself so fully convinced of the impropriety of volunteering re-

commendations for office to the Executive that he abstains from it, and thinks his course satisfactory to his constituents; but observes very truly that, "to have proper and fair effect, whatever course is pursued ought to be uniform, constant, and universal"—in other words, if one Senator is to abstain from soliciting offices for his friends, all must do it. Mr. Edmunds no doubt sees, and his letter will suggest to everybody who reads it, the fact that no general agreement on the part of Senators to abstain from office-soliciting will last long if the Executive is forced by necessity to apply constantly or frequently to them and Representatives for information about candidates, and that this necessity must exist as long as changes are as frequent as they now are. Nothing but greater fixity of tenure will make the President's nominating burden so light that legislators can be asked for advice without risk of dictation.

We regret to perceive as yet no sign of any effort on Mr. Conkling's part to restore Harmony in the Party. Of course, we understand perfectly his annoyance at the President's interference with his Courtesy and his Custom-house, but then it is human nature for the President to do what he has done, and it was probably suggested to him by the Constitution and the party platform, and surely Mr. Conkling is too practical a man not to know that he must deal with human nature as he finds it. The Solid South is marshalling its forces for an assault on the Treasury, and we are threatened with the destruction of public and private credit through the Silver movement. Are these the times, therefore, for a Senator to quarrel over a question of patronage? We ask him once more, while feeling deep sympathy for him, whether he ought not to let Hayes have his way about these comparatively small matters, and use all his vast influence to bind the party into a solid phalanx against the repudiators. We greatly fear that if he does not Hayes will sign the Silver Bill, and Mr. Conkling will be answerable for the consequences. Many silly little civil-service quacks will doubtless jeer at this advice, but we are talking to a great man who understands us, and we do not mind what visionaries and tea-caddy politicians say or think.

Congress reassembled on Thursday. In the House the first thing in order was Fernando Wood's resolution authorizing the regular committees to investigate at any time the administration of all the departments, and to send for persons and papers. The absence of a certain portion of the majority enabled the Republicans to amend this in Committee of the Whole, with a fair prospect of depriving it of its worst features, by compelling committees to apply to the House for the much-abused power to send for persons and papers, or by ordering the charges to be presented to the House in writing, with an endorsement by one or more members that the charge was sustained *prima facie* by evidence. Mr. Foster also desired to investigate the manner in which the Democrats of the Forty-fourth Congress had dispensed their investigation funds. On Friday, however, Mr. Wood found himself with his usual backing, and his so-called "drag-net" measure was promptly adopted in all its integrity. Mr. Kelley made two ineffectual attempts to induce the House to hold a Saturday session for the purpose of listening to the arguments of women in favor of a female-suffrage amendment of the Constitution. In the Senate, Senator Sargent had a like experience, but he introduced the amendment in question, which forbids the States to disfranchise on account of sex. Mr. Edmunds had another amendment, which it is safe to say will not be adopted in the form in which he presented it. It prohibits State establishments of religion or interference with the free exercise of religion, religious qualifications for office, sectarian appropriations, etc., but expressly excepts the reading of the Bible in schools as not within the intent of the prohibition. Mr. Edmunds also offered a substitute for Senator Matthews's pernicious Silver resolution, and so worded it that the rejection of it will place its opponents in a very awkward posi-

tion. It affirms, as the Matthews resolution denies, that the faith of the Government is pledged to redeem all its obligations in gold. Judge Davis presented petitions for and against remonetization from his own State and neighborhood, and took care to remark (as if it were somehow relevant) that the former represented the great majority of his constituency. On Tuesday Mr. Voorhees treated the Senate to a *bouffé* performance by making a long speech in favor of repudiation, on the text of his resolution declaring that the national credit ought to be maintained.

On Monday the President sent to the Senate a long list of new nominations, including several collectors of customs; but the New York collector was not among them. Noticeable, on the other hand, was the reappointment of James M. Edmunds as postmaster at Washington, in spite of his well-known connection with the "machine," and in spite of the fact that he has already served two terms of four years. We are glad to see any evidence of Mr. Hayes's abandoning the queer notion that a tenure of eight years is as much as any office-holder is entitled to in a reformed civil service; but there have been worthier occasions than Mr. Edmunds for a return to sounder doctrine. The nomination of Lucius C. Northrup to be District-Attorney of South Carolina was a surprise to those who had asserted, and still assert, that Mr. D. T. Corbin, lately a claimant for a seat in the Senate, was the President's first choice. We do not know what Mr. Northrup's fitness may be, but Mr. Corbin's appointment would have been a disregard of proprieties such as President Grant used to show when he stood by his subordinates "under fire." Mr. Corbin is accused in South Carolina of having bribed the Mackey House of Representatives to vote him United States Senator; and whatever truth there may be in this charge, the State authorities are evidently in earnest in prosecuting it, and Mr. Corbin's appearance in South Carolina, in any capacity, would lead to his examination and trial for a penal offence. This is not exactly the kind of greeting a United States District-Attorney should be subjected to if it can be avoided, and the country may congratulate itself on having been saved one more scandal.

The woman-suffragists have held their annual convention in Washington this year and have made a determined assault on Congress, Mr. W. D. Kelley being, owing to his remarkable open-mindedness, their leading champion. They tried hard to get permission to address the House and Senate in person, but this privilege was sternly refused. They had one great triumph, however, in obtaining a promise from the President that he would sign any woman's-rights bill that Congress might pass—the reckless man that he is. Vice-President Wheeler stood by them, on the whole, more boldly than anybody, and is fully abreast of the most advanced thinkers of the party. They relied, womanlike, a great deal on interviews with individual Senators and Representatives in the lobbies, which obliged the more susceptible or bashful legislators to stick very closely to their places. Mr. Conkling, in particular, was the object of much pursuit, his "torso" having been long a subject of admiration to the friends of the cause. Senator Hoar also displayed great interest in the proceedings, but not so pathetic an interest as Mr. Wheeler's.

Mr. Schurz, as every one expected who knew anything of the condition of the Interior Department, and especially of the Indian Bureau, is bearing the brunt of such reform work as the present Administration has undertaken, and is naturally exposed to the most savage attacks, and, in the opinion of many of those who have had experience of the great diversity and multiplicity of influences which work for the Indian Ring, he will be eventually broken down. Of this, however, we have no fear, if the President holds firm and does not have "his mind poisoned" like his predecessor. One of Mr. Schurz's best pieces of work, reminding one of Mr. Bristow's assault on the whiskey thieves, we described in our last number. He instituted a real committee of investigation, composed of an army officer, Major Bradley; of Mr. McCammon, supplied by the Attorney-

General from his own office, and of the chief clerk of the Indian Department. This commission examined Mr. Galpin, the chief clerk of the Indian Bureau, for twenty days, and convicted him, among other things, on his own confession, of having kept back charges against fraudulent contractors on the ground that he knew the men and believed them innocent.

The Ring are now busily at work trying to break the force of these revelations, and have managed to seduce a good but not very perspicacious man, President Seelye, into writing a private letter from Amherst, from which they have published extracts, giving his opinion that "the report of the Board of Enquiry into Indian management was a gross travesty on justice secured by a combination of corrupt and adroit men." We were under the painful necessity, while Mr. Seelye was in Congress, of expressing our belief that he was by far too guileless and too unfamiliar with the processes and subjects of legislation and with the ways of politicians to render real service to reform, but we confess we were not prepared for his writing reckless despatches for the use of corrupt speculators and scoundrels of various degrees, pronouncing an investigation at which he was not present, conducted by men whose character is as good as his own, and who are far his superiors in sagacity, a "gross travesty on justice," and testifying to the high character of a clerk who by confessing the suppression of charges against contractors has confessed himself presumptively guilty of connivance at fraud.

The Netter and Bonner failures resulted from the loss of money obtained by the "rehypothecation" of stocks and bonds. This method of getting money and failing was a new dodge in Wall Street; but it appears there were others yet to be discovered, for on Thursday Mr. E. J. Dunning, jr., a young note-broker who had the confidence of the banks and of business firms, and deservedly so, so far as his character goes, suspended. His liabilities were about \$900,000, and the larger part of these were due to the banks from which he had borrowed money on pledge of mercantile notes. His method of doing business appears to have been something like this: as a note-broker he would buy the notes of mercantile firms whose facilities for getting money were not the best; these he would pay for with checks on his bank, which checks the bank would "certify" were good. He would then take these notes to other banks or money-lenders, and sell them or borrow on them; if able to sell them at a profit, or to borrow more on them than he paid for them, he would deposit the money in the bank which "certified" his check, thereby making his account good. In case he was unable to sell or borrow he would then turn the notes into the bank which "certified" his check, to be held until he could borrow or sell at profit. If able to do this before the paper or notes matured, his own bank would be secured; if not, his bank would lose whatever was lost, less the amount by which he could reduce it with his own money. This appears to have been the system, and it will be seen that in effect it amounted to this: that he used the funds of the bank, and was to make all the profits by such use, while the bank was to take all the losses, less whatever might be the ordinary profits of Dunning's account at the bank. It is charitable to believe that this is an exceptional feature of bank management in New York. As the result of Dunning's suspension, several of his mercantile customers have already failed, and at the close of the week efforts are making to secure a "settlement" which shall prevent other failures. The price of gold fell during the week to 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the lowest since April 30, 1862. This price makes the gold value of the promise of the Treasury to pay a gold dollar \$0.9816. The London market for U. S. bonds advanced as gold declined here. Silver in London ranged between 53 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 54d. per oz., the latter price making the bullion in a 412 $\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar worth \$0.9010 gold.

The death of Victor Emanuel is the severest blow the Italian people has sustained since that of Cavour, and, indeed, it may be said that without the King Cavour would not have been possible, nor the King without Cavour. The King was neither a great statesman nor a great soldier; the remarkable thing in his career was

that having been brought up in the most priest-ridden and absolutist court in Europe, he was able at the right time to convert himself into a constitutional monarch, and to stay constitutional for thirty years without ever wavering, and to give steady support to a minister whose policy and plans were utterly opposed to all the traditions of his house. That this was not so easy as it seems is proved by the total failure of the various branches of the house of Bourbon, and by the long resistance of the Hapsburgs. It was the more remarkable in Victor Emanuel's case, too, because he was not a student or a thinker, or what may be called a serious man in any sense of the term.<sup>1</sup> He was fairly ignorant, a man of pleasure, and a soldier of the *sabreur* kind, who liked to head a charge of cavalry vastly better than to direct strategical operations, and he never wholly got rid of his reverence for the Church; but having once entered on the path of constitutionalism he never wince or doubted or quibbled or looked back. Had he died before 1859 or 1866 it would have been a tremendous misfortune, and might have indefinitely retarded the work of unification; but Italy has been lucky in this as in other things, and did not lose him until he was really King of Italy and firmly lodged in Rome. His death even now, however, is very inopportune, as the Ministry is disorganized, the election of a new Pope is impending, and his successor Humbert has still to win popular confidence, his boyhood having been rather unpromising. The complications thus created are pretty sure to prevent that active participation on the part of Italy in the settlement of the Eastern question which many people have been expecting or predicting. The Papal emmity to the "Subalpine Monarch" seems to have dissolved in the presence of death. The King received the last sacraments, and the Pope apparently forgot the spoliation of the Church and the excommunications he launched at the King and his confederates, and remembered only that he was a great Italian, who had done and dared much for Italy.

The King's death occurred in the midst of a parliamentary crisis brought about by the inherent weakness of the Ministry and the fortuitous nature of the majority in the House. After much fumbling, a new Cabinet was proclaimed on the 26th of December, with the same nominal head, Depretis, in charge of Foreign Affairs, and with four other members of the old Cabinet retained, along with their portfolios—namely, Mancini, Minister of Justice; Coppino, Public Instruction; Mezzacapo, War; and Brin, Navy. The new members are Crispi, the well-known radical deputy, who will probably do more than any one else to give character to the Ministry, and who takes charge of Internal Affairs; Magliani, once an office-holder under the Bourbons, now entrusted with the Finances; Perez, Public Works; and Bargoni, formerly a colleague of Menabrea and Minghetti, who is given the "Treasury," a department just created by special decree and supplanting the Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. The peculiarity of the complexion of this body is that it embraces more deputies and fewer senators, and that it has been reinforced from the south of Italy. The conservatives, in fact, complain that Signor Depretis has been too much influenced by "geographical considerations."

The perplexity occasioned in England by the Russian successes seems hardly inferior to that of the Turks, as the moment has now come when Russia has to decide what kind of peace she will inflict on the Turks, and when Austria and Germany will have to reveal the nature of their understanding with the Czar. England insists on participation in the final settlement, as necessary to her honor and security; if Russia should deny her right to this, or insist on treating with the Turks separately, the situation would be very serious, for the remedy would be by no means plain. The Turkish army may now be said to have ceased to exist; and to fight Russia alone in Rumelia and Bulgaria, with any force England can raise and put in the field before next summer, is out of the question. The latest accounts lead to the belief, however, that Russia is moderate and conciliatory in tone, but the contingencies are so serious as to cause deep popular anxiety. The affair has been so mismanaged that

even if the Cabinet were united in sentiment they would undoubtedly not be allowed to carry on the war, if war had to be made, and the Liberals are opposed to any war at all for the benefit of Turkey. There is now reported to be a growing desire for some decent protégé, say Greece, to take Turkey's place in the Eastern Question; but to this Lincoln's saying about "swapping horses in crossing the stream" is singularly applicable.

Scarcely had the Turkish position at Zlatitza, in the upper Topolnitza valley, been forced, and the connection broken between the forces retreating before Gourko and those defending the southern end of the Shipka pass, when a combined movement was made for the opening of the intervening Troyan pass. A turning column crossed the Balkans on by-ways, and almost annihilated a Turkish battalion opposing it; the fortifications in the pass were attacked in front, and finally abandoned by the defenders, when nearly surrounded, after a loss of three hundred killed. A movement on a larger scale was next executed in the same way against the Turkish army at Shipka, General Skobelev—as is unofficially stated—leading a force through the Troyan pass and falling upon the enemy from the rear, and General Radetzki assailing the fortified Turkish positions in front. "After desperate fighting," on January 9, the whole Turkish army was captured, consisting, as the official bulletin of the Grand Duke Nicholas states it, of forty-one battalions of infantry, ten batteries, and one regiment of cavalry. A later bulletin speaks of ten thousand prisoners, which may have been the whole number of the survivors. General Mirski immediately occupied Kazanlik, and his cavalry spread through the Tunja valley eastward towards Yeni Zaghra and the railroad to Yamboli. General Kartzoff, moving westward, cleared the upper Gyopsu valley, occupied Klisura, and was there met by Russian detachments coming from Zlatitza and Teteven. Grand Duke Nicholas himself began crossing the Balkans through the Shipka Pass, while General Gourko's troops occupied Ikhtiman, which was naturally abandoned without a fight by the Turks. The latter, under Suleiman Pasha, fell back beyond Tatar Bazarjik, between which town and Philippopolis, according to the latest despatches, a severe battle was fought on January 14 and 15, ending with the further retreat of the Turks, and followed by the evacuation of the last-named city. Russians from Kazanlik appeared as far south as Tchirpan, a few miles from Adrianople, whence the civil government is reported to have been removed to Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmora, while tens of thousands of the inhabitants of Rumelia were fleeing to Constantinople.

On the same day on which the Russians achieved their great victory at Shipka their Servian allies stormed some heights commanding Nissa; other posts were taken on the following day, and on the 11th the town surrendered. The fighting had been protracted and severe, but the heavy losses of the Servians were richly compensated by the capture of a garrison of eight thousand with ninety cannon and twelve thousand rifles, as reported. Kurshumlie, abandoned by the Turks, was next reoccupied, and Vranya, south of Leskovatz, entered, while the bulk of the Servian army advanced on Prishtina. On the day preceding the fall of Nissa, Antivari had surrendered to the Montenegrins. The dismay which prevailed in Constantinople on the announcement of all these calamities can easily be realized. The Cabinet was reconstituted, the Grand Vizier Edhem Pasha making place for Hamdi Pasha. The efforts to obtain an armistice, begun through Mehemet Ali, were renewed through the Minister of War, Reouf Pasha, as nominal commander-in-chief, but were, as reports have it, momentarily checked by a declaration of the Grand Duke Nicholas that "there could be no question at present of an armistice without bases for peace." As to the terms of peace which might be acceptable to his brother the Emperor he could as yet give no indications; he was, however, ready to receive Turkish plenipotentiaries at Kazanlik. These were consequently appointed at a meeting of the Grand Council at Constantinople, Server Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Namyk Pasha receiving the delicate mission. They were expected to meet the Grand Duke on the 16th.

THE KIND OF FINANCIAL LEADERSHIP THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS HAD.

SOME Indiana friends of the late Senator Morton have, in defence of his memory, taken the *Nation* to task with much severity and solemnity for having recently pointed out the evil influence of his career, since the war, on public morality. We were prevented by want of space from expressing ourselves on this point as fully as we desired, and prevented, for the same reason, from saying many things also touching the evil influence of such a career on the younger generation of politicians, most of whom in our time learn the trade of politics, and the proper mode of dealing with political questions, not from schools or colleges or books, but from the lives and examples of prominent public men. Indeed, it may be said that they learn the ethics of politics almost wholly by observing the effects of a politician's doings and sayings on his reputation and success; and argue, not unnaturally, that whatever a popular and influential man does or says with impunity cannot be very far wrong, if wrong at all, and may even furnish a useful object of imitation. A worse model for this class could hardly be found than Senator Morton's dealings with the national finances since 1867, or a more striking illustration of the extent to which some public men can divest themselves of a personal conscience and personal judgment, or of the way in which public opinion on a question like the public credit can be gradually debauched by the weakness and want of principle of men in high places. It is true, no doubt, that we owe a great deal of the prevailing dishonesty, both public and private, to the spirit of gambling bred by the ups and downs of paper money; but we owe much of it, also, to the unfaithfulness of leading Republican politicians—to their readiness, almost from the close of the war, not to check or discourage, but to stimulate and promote, every little tendency to dishonesty and chicanery which the pressure of the burdens of the struggle, once its excitement was over, not unnaturally produced. We do not deny or forget the firmness with which many of them stood by the public credit, but we verily believe that we owe a large part of the dishonest frenzy which has been raging in the West, in one form or another, ever since 1869 to the eagerness with which others supplied suggestions, or excuses, or instruments of fraud.

It so happened that the acts authorizing the first loans contracted after the outbreak of the war in 1861, 1862, did not mention specifically in what kind of money the principal was to be repaid. The reason undoubtedly was that nobody ever thought of any kind of money but coin. No lender dreamed of their being paid in anything else. All the officers of the Government engaged in disposing of them represented them as so payable. The sale of them at par in greenbacks was merely a somewhat simple device of Mr. Chase's for concealing the full extent of the discount at which they were really disposed of, and in the then circumstances of the Government that discount—heavy as it was—was not unreasonable. In subsequent issues, however, in order to assure fully the moneyed mind in the presence of the growing volume of paper money and the rising premium on gold, payment in coin was specifically promised. In 1867, the knavishly disposed in searching for opportunities of fraud lighted on this distinction between the two issues of bonds, and joyfully maintained that the first ones were payable in paper. The point was not raised in any practical shape; the bonds were not due and the holders were not claiming payment, and the mere fact that the borrower was also the law-maker ought to have made the very suggestion of the Government's making a little money by sharp practice, under cover of one of its own statutes, odious and unmentionable. Nevertheless Senator Sherman not only raised the point, but made it an argument in favor of a Funding Bill offering the bondholders five instead of six per cent, without the option of being paid off. He took this ground in Congress, and here is what he wrote about it in a letter at the time, and in his language one can hardly fail to see the origin of the wild and dishonest abuse of the bondholders by which a great many of the

ignorant and thoughtless people have been disgracing themselves and their country ever since:

"Your idea that we propose to repudiate or violate a promise when we offer to redeem the principal in legal tenders is erroneous. I think the bondholder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for his bonds. If so, the case is to be tested by law; if it is to be tested by Jay Cooke and his advertisements, I am wrong. I hate repudiation, or anything like it; but we ought not to be deterred from what is right for fear of undeserved epithets. If under the law as it stands the bondholder can demand only the kind of money he paid, then he is a repudiator and an extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave."

Senator Morton was at that time the most influential man in the Republican party; in fact, it might almost be said that he was *the* party. He was still in favor of returning to specie payments by redeeming the greenbacks in coin, not having yet got over the earlier Republican idea that they were Government promises to repay a forced loan, and the following year (1868) he did bring in a bill providing for such return in 1871. But he none the less fell in with Senator Sherman's very heartily. He scouted the idea that the bondholders were entitled to coin. He put the Republican party in some sort of judicial capacity, made it the guardian of the national contract with the public creditor and bound to maintain the exact letter of the law, and "protested against its being committed to the dogma that the five-twenties were payable in coin." His views of the nature of judicial functions were, however, capable of great expansion when it suited him; for in 1868, in reply to the suggestion that the Supreme Court might declare the legal-tender quality of the greenbacks as to previous contracts unconstitutional, he asserted that "the Supreme Court should be something more than an expounder of statutes or collector of precedents, and should view such questions as statesmen as well as lawyers." This, he remarked, was what Lord Mansfield did. "In construing statutes, and in the settlement of great questions, he decided them in accordance with the progress of the times and the new conditions of society." He could not bear to have the Republican party imitate the Supreme Court or Lord Mansfield, however; if the letter of the law allowed it to cheat, cheat it must.

His talk on this subject, and that of Butler and others, began to injure the public credit, and seemed likely to make refunding at a lower rate of interest impossible. The "Bill to strengthen the Public Credit," by interpreting the public obligations as a statesman and not as a lawyer, by "construing the statute and settling a great question in accordance with the progress of the times and new conditions of society," which forbid a great people to play the sharper, was therefore introduced in February, 1869. Senator Morton opposed it, tooth and nail, at every stage. He said the bill was not "law." He "could not vote for it without proving false to his own convictions, and therefore would not vote for it."

"We should," he said, "do foul injustice to the people of the United States if after we had sold those bonds on an average of 60 cents on the dollar, we were now to make a new contract for the benefit of the holders. . . . The sole object of the bill was to raise the price of bonds in the market and put money in the pockets of the speculators. He predicted that, if the bill passed, all prospect of funding the debt at 4½ per cent. must be given up until we returned to specie payments,"

and so he went on denouncing it savagely. His idea evidently was that we could not refund at a lower rate of interest if we surrendered the means of threatening the public creditor with a fraud, and evidently was not thinking much of Lord Mansfield this time. In his speech one can find the germs of nearly all the later attacks on the public credit, and of the recent Western ravings about the silver bill. He voted against its final passage.

We have no space to follow his vagaries on the bill for redistributing the national-bank currency, which, foolish as it was, his comments made more foolish still; nor his diatribes against Mr. McCulloch's contracting power, which, if persisted in, would undoubtedly have prevented the panic of 1873, by checking the tendency to speculation. We must come down to December, 1873, when, fancying he saw "how the cat was jumping," he had got bravely

over his desire for specie payments. He was now a red-hot inflationist, and said "there was a sort of fanaticism about a return to specie payments; he had it pretty bad once himself, but experience and the lapse of time had abated it in his case very considerably. He recognized gold and silver as the standard to which we should return at some time or other" (they nearly all do), "but not until it was practicable to do so"; and he was opposed to making greenbacks equal in value to coin within a short time. He cited the financial history of England at considerable length to show that the proper cure for panics was inflation, and cited the case of Russia, Italy, Austria, France, and the United States to show that it was those countries which had an irredeemable currency which had made most progress during the previous ten years. When, however, Mr. Schurz began to ply him with financial history on the other side he threw off all restraint, and became absurd and unscrupulous beyond the belief of anybody who did not hear him, or has not followed him in the *Globe*:

"He put aside," he said, "old theories and commonplaces of the books, platitudes of finance and metaphysics of finance. They had no vitality in them. He preferred to take the actual results and the actual condition of the country, and let theory go to the dogs. . . . The demand for relief from the South and West ought not to be answered by old and barren theories, nor were we to be whistled down the wind and answered by theories from John Stuart Mill and Bastiat. He hoped not."

The meaning of all this, of course, was that instead of the theories of John Stuart Mill and others, deduced from careful observation of facts in other nations and ages, we were to take the theories Mr. Morton manufactured in such odd moments as he could spare from office-jobbing. In 1875 he was vigorously advocating resumption in coin.

We have reserved to the last the tidbit of his financial history. "If," said he, "you took a plaster-of-Paris cast of the continent of Europe, with all its mountains and plains and rivers, could you make it fit upon the continent of America? No more can you make a theory that may suit Germany fit the condition of things in the United States." We ought, perhaps, to stop here, but we must before closing remark that after this great "plaster-of Paris" argument he seemed to grow more reckless, and declared "we never were properly on a specie-paying basis in this country." "This theory of specie payments," he added, "is a sort of fanaticism; some people have it on the brain." Is it any wonder that a party which has had such financial gods as this should now be rent and torn by a passion for fraud and chicanery, and that a considerable portion of it should be willing to sacrifice the national credit for the sweets of any bit of repudiation, however small?

#### ENGLISH AND GERMAN POLICY TOWARDS TURKEY.

THE rapidly-approaching close of the Turco-Russian war seems likely to leave England in that position of an object of detestation to both belligerents which now seems to be her fate in every conflict that occurs in Christendom, in spite of what she herself deems the most conscientious efforts to be neutral. There is little doubt that the Turks would never have set the Conference at defiance and have challenged Russia to the field if the Pashas had not believed firmly that, sooner or later, England would come to their aid. Although the English diplomatic papers have held out no hope of intervention, nearly every week some little thing has occurred—a movement of troops or of the fleet, or a ministerial speech, or a Tory meeting, or a "free fight" between Turkish and Russian sympathizers in the streets—to lead the Porte to believe that the interventionists were gaining ground and would soon have their way. The call of Parliament for to-day has been keeping up the spirits of the Turks to this moment in spite of their irretrievable disasters in the field, and the probabilities are that in four weeks more they will look on England as jointly responsible with Russia for their ruin, in spite of the good advice the English Cabinet has been all along giving them.

This usual and it must be confessed somewhat ludicrous re-

sult of English interest in foreign politics is, in a great degree, the fault of the press, which, owing to its freedom and its large capital and its enterprise as a news-gatherer, enjoys an influence on the Continent to which the press of no other country can lay any claim. It takes part, too, in foreign conflicts with a vehemence and bitterness which it is impossible for Frenchmen, Germans, or Turks to look upon as anything but an indication of an approaching participation of the nation itself in the war. During the late civil war in this country, for instance, the newspaper partisans of both North and South laid about them with a fervor which was in no degree surpassed by the press of this country. In fact, the intense hatred of the Tory writers for everything Federal was not outdone in expression by the Richmond editors, and to distant lookers-on, and especially to those not accustomed to the vagaries of free speech, must have seemed a sure sign that England would shortly take part in the fray. The same phenomena, in a somewhat milder form, were observable during the Franco-Prussian war, when the sympathies of "society" were again with the French, and the newspapers which represented its views gradually worked themselves up to the point of believing that the overthrow of France would tempt the blood-thirsty conqueror into an invasion of England, a chimera to which the *jeu d'esprit* called the "Battle of Dorking" owed its great success. At this moment the hatred of Russia has reached such a pass that the calmest and most cool-headed paper in England on all other subjects, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, appears on this to be the victim of a monomania, and one does not know at which to wonder most, its wild vilification of the Russians or its wild glorification of the Turks. That the Pashas can read it and some other papers without feeling that some serious step will shortly be taken by England is, of course, with their limited knowledge of the conditions of western society, almost impossible.

What makes all this the more remarkable is that, although it is well known that both Austria and Germany have a far heavier interest in the result of the war than England, and are in much closer proximity to its horrors, and have a much more serious appreciation of the gentle Turk, the public in both these countries has remained perfectly calm, and the Governments have refrained from all hints as to the nature of their policy or the direction of their sympathies. Indeed, the dignity and self-restraint with which Count Andrassy and Prince Bismarck have looked on at what was passing at their doors must present to Englishmen a mortifying contrast to the fussiness of their own Government, and the effect of this contrast must be aggravated by the reflection that either Andrassy or Bismarck could stop the war in a single week, while it is more than doubtful whether England could at any time since the crossing of the Danube have exerted any influence on it except by keeping up the spirits of the Turks; and yet the Turks seem to cast no blame on the Austrians or Germans. Indeed, it is only now—so well has Bismarck kept his counsel, and so calmly has Germany looked on—that real curiosity begins to be manifested about his policy, or that any trustworthy indications of it begin to leak out. Its vague outlines, however, are now becoming discernible, and if carried out he will have the honor of settling the last of the great European problems left untouched by the treaties of 1815; and probably in the way most conducive to all the great interests of civilization. The conjectures as to his aim which begin to find circulation and credit are, that he was only too glad to let Russia undertake the trouble and expense of putting an end to Turkey, and was determined from the first that she should not be interfered with; and how little importance he has attached to English restiveness has been illustrated by his latest and not least effective *mot*, "that if Turkey is a sick man, England is a sick woman." He means, probably, that Russia, having completed the job satisfactorily, shall get her compensation in Asia and in the freedom of the Dardanelles, and that the débris of the Turkish Empire in Europe shall furnish in some way or other, perhaps in the shape of an archducal viceroyalty, an excuse for pushing Austria a little further down to the southeast among the Slavs, and giving her a chance to build up an influence or make accessions of territory in that direction which will make her total separation from

Germany, when the time comes, easier and more acceptable. Indeed, it may now be almost said with certainty that he means that Austria shall do the main portion of the work of reorganizing European Turkey, and infusing political life into the populations which the peace will relieve from the Turkish yoke; and if this be really his plan, the skill and patience displayed in putting the cost of the enterprise on Russia can hardly be too much admired.

It is impossible to dwell on the calmness of the attitude of the other Powers on this Eastern Question, as compared to the English unrest, without asking whether what may be called the sporting view of foreign wars, which has now become so common in England—that is, the fierce sentimental interest in what Englishmen call “the weaker party,” and the noisy desire that he should win, without reference to the goodness of his cause or the practical results of his victory—is not due in a great degree to the separation of the army from the body of the people. The smallness of the force and the mode of recruiting it make it seem rather like a champion hired to maintain the honor of the country than the nation itself in arms, and tempts the press and the clubs into the betting-men’s way of looking at armed conflicts—that is, as if they were *spectacula*, rather than judgments in tremendous controversies delivered, as it were, amidst thunder and lightning. To a Continental statesman like Bismarck, to whom war means the calling of the whole people away from their industry to march through blood and fire, the sympathy of men like Disraeli for the Turks because they have fought well, or the notion current in London society that Russia is a cruel bully because she overwhelms a weak power with her big battalions, must seem extremely puerile. To him war is an instrument for great ends, and though bred in a military atmosphere, and the minister of an intensely military court, he has probably a far deeper sense of the solemnity of an appeal to arms than the Englishmen who, bred under the *habeas corpus* and the bill of rights, are thrilled by the desperation with which the Ottoman barbarians defend the soil which for so many ages they have drenched with the blood and tears of their victims. If the conscription should have the effect of giving English opinion a better comprehension both of the cost of war and of its gravity, and a deeper sense of the folly of regarding it as in any sense a prize-fight or mere trial of strength, worse things might befall the country than having to come to it; and this is a consideration which ought to go a good way in atoning for the heavy drafts which the enormous armaments of our day make on the material resources of the great states.

#### COLLEGIATE ORATORY.

THE competition in oratory between undergraduates of half a dozen colleges, which took place in this city on Thursday evening under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Association, and which we had an opportunity of witnessing, more than confirmed the doubts we have often expressed in these columns as to the expediency of encouraging displays of this character, and as to the unwholesomeness of their influence on mental training. One would expect, in the first place, if one-half of what the friends of college oratory tell us of its value were true, that students who cultivate and excel in it would exhibit some of the characteristics of a corps d’élite, and would furnish a flattering intellectual representation of their colleges, especially in an intercollegiate match. One was struck on Thursday evening, however, by the exceeding immaturity of the contestants. The choice of subjects was in itself a strong indication of a love of generalities and of a taste for hazy thinking, and sounding rather than exact expression, which properly belongs to the freshman or school period, and ought not to be found in company with beards, or be displayed on public occasions of this sort. No youth who had learned to think consecutively, and pursue subjects in his thought, would, for instance, care to discourse on the “Everlasting Man,” or “The Ideal Man,” or “Principle.” These are topics on which one can talk by the hour and say nothing, and which a student with the right stuff in him would therefore naturally avoid. If the cultivation of oratory drives a young man in on such topics, it furnishes an argument of a very strong kind for avoiding it during the period of mental growth and discipline. The only

way of escaping from these conclusions is by supposing that the best men of the various competing colleges do not enter the oratorical lists, and that the prizes there are sought by the fluent and histrionic rather than by the hard workers and strong thinkers; but this does not mend matters.

The choice of topics in some degree prepared one for the orations. They were as a rule well delivered, and bore traces of careful elocutionary training, as well as of considerable elocutionary capacity. The tones and gestures had been for the most part well studied, but so well that they made the subject-matter of the various discourses seem still more thin and commonplace. The fine manner seemed thrown away on the poor matter. Talma could not have struck better attitudes, or managed his voice better than some of the speakers; but it would have taken Cicero or Demosthenes to make the speeches worthy of the setting, and the speeches consisted mostly of commonplaces and platitudes taken in a loose way from the most accessible books, and poorly put together. Not one bore any trace of a careful preparation as regards facts or logic. One gentleman who dealt with a historical subject had not taken the trouble to bring his reading down to our own day, and the result was that his peroration was made up of a great and, under the circumstances, discreditable blunder. All the speeches, indeed, kept pretty clear of facts, and carefully avoided anything like a line of argument. None contained any sign of wide or accurate reading. One, which was perhaps the best delivered, was a kind of rhapsody worthy of Ossian. In fact, it is only by using the word oratory in the sense of “rhetoric”—that is, in its lowest and narrowest sense—that the contest could be called a contest in oratory at all, and it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that oratory cultivated in this way tended to mark a distinction between sound and sense, than which nothing in education is to be more carefully avoided.

It was somewhat interesting to observe the revelations made by the speeches as to the ideals cherished by the orators. The one on which, as was not unnatural, the admiration of nearly all was concentrated was the comeouter, the brave man who says strange things which afterwards come true, but is persecuted by his contemporaries for saying them, or who leads in some movement which looks hopeless in its beginning and brings ridicule on him, but turns out a great success in the end. This was all very well, but it would have been encouraging if there had been some signs of admiration also for the steady, faithful, persevering man, who does his duty in beaten paths. The mind of the orators evidently turned towards achievement through brilliant strokes or devious ways, rather than through silent and unobtrusive tenacity. But there was nothing more marked in the orations than the love of imagery and pictorial illustration, and in this they were a curious reminder of the speeches in the *Congressional Record*, a volume which few Americans look into, but which is full of interesting revelations of character and mental habits. (In nothing more than in the use of illustrations is the difference between the real and the sham orator shown. With the former they simply furnish a means of lighting up his argument, or bringing the hearer’s fancy to the aid of his attention; with the latter they constantly fill the place of arguments themselves. The one, for instance, will bring home to you vividly the changefulness there is even in the dark things of life, and the unreasonableness of despair, by pointing out that every cloud has a silver lining; the other will tell you to expect relief in your troubles because clouds are sure to pass away and the sun to shine again. Congressional orators frequently get over the difficult spots in their ratiocination in this way by resorting to images drawn from natural phenomena. And in no debates are they so apt to do this as in debates on finance. Again and again have the beneficial effects of inflation been proved by showing the fertilizing influence of water on a dry and barren plain.) We have referred in another column to the late Senator Morton’s argument that the financial experience of German men was of no use to American men, because you could not make a plaster cast of the surface of Europe fit the surface of the United States. The temptation to this abuse of imagery in such displays as the Intercollegiate contest is, of course, very great. The audience is very large, and could hardly be less critical, and is easier to hit with a trope or simile than with anything else; and it is therefore not surprising that the orators resort to whatever draws applause and seems likeliest to keep their friends from feeling bored. This, too, will account in part for the hero-worship of most of the speeches. A glowing eulogy on Lincoln, or Martin Luther, or William Tell can be brought in apropos of almost anything, and never fails to bring down the house.

(At the bottom of all attempts of this sort to train young men to be orators, there is the radical error that writing a florid or bombastic essay on a subject with which one is imperfectly acquainted, learning it by

heart and repeating it in public, is oratory, or can lead to oratory in any proper or useful sense of the term. The great difficulty with all young men, as regards either speaking or writing, is rather that they do not know what to say than that they do not know how to say it. Almost every young man who takes to speaking or writing early is apt to be naturally fluent with tongue or pen. The kindest thing a friend or teacher can do for such a person is not to encourage him to take lessons in elocution and spout in public whatever comes easiest to him, but to train himself carefully in the mastery of subjects and the arrangement of arguments. The imagery and other ornamentation should come afterwards. To lay them on effectively needs taste and judgment, which do not always come naturally. It ought to be more discreditable to a young orator to be inaccurate, or ignorant, or slipshod as to his facts, or illogical as to his conclusions, than to break down in his delivery. If we ask any one who has made much effective use of his tongue in public, What is it that an orator most needs? he will tell us that it is to be able "to think on his legs," as the popular phrase is—that is, to have the full command of his faculties and of his materials or knowledge while actually addressing an audience. That this can be acquired by training, that it is an invaluable acquisition, and that in acquiring it all the mental powers may be strengthened, is known by a vast amount of experience. Now, to this such exhibitions as the Intercollegiate contest and commencement orations contribute nothing, absolutely nothing. The true training for such oratory as we need in our day and in this country is to be found in debate—that is, in the discussion of questions involving the answer on the spot of arguments there heard for the first time. To do this successfully needs careful preparation, full knowledge of the subject, and full command of this knowledge, and readiness and skill in arranging or drawing on it. It is this kind of training that would give our educated men their legitimate influence in shaping public opinion, and in elevating the public taste and controlling legislation. Far from cultivating this, however, one of the noblest and manliest of arts, our colleges, in so far as they have given any attention to the matter at all, have devoted themselves to encouraging the "demonstrative oratory" of the Greeks—that is, the repetition by heart of elaborate written essays—which was an agreeable and perhaps useful accomplishment in days when there were neither books nor newspapers, but a large population of lounging critics who were ready to listen to anything which wiled away the time, and to whom rhetoric was one of the fine arts, and language as delicate an instrument of expression as music. We cannot bring back those times if we would, and the more we try, or seem to try, to do it, the wider the gulf we create between the universities and the every-day life of the country (which is wide enough already), and the deeper we make popular distrust as to the value of university training. It was a curious and significant circumstance that not one of the subjects chosen by the young men who declaimed the other night at the Academy of Music, except one, had the smallest connection with the topics which are now agitating the world—the problems of trade, finance, religion, and war—which all civilized men are now pondering with fear and trembling. One gentleman spoke on the "Convictions of Labor," but as mystically and vaguely as if he were addressing the "Liberal Club," or as if "Labor" meant some sort of abstraction, and not men called laborers. As to the others, it seemed as if the themes which are now convulsing the world had never reached their ears, any more than if they had been bred in convents.

It is tolerably clear that the educated class in America is not likely to find in our time the entrance to official life any easier than it is now. Why it is, and whose fault it is, we do not propose to discuss here. Of the fact that our legislatures, both National and State, contain an increasingly small proportion of college-bred men we believe there is no question, and we would advise college-bred men to give up the hope of any such immediate change in the conditions of public life as will give them the official prominence in it they once held. But this, instead of furnishing a reason for neglecting public affairs altogether, furnishes a reason for seeking other channels of influence or power, and those channels undoubtedly are the platform and the press, and the oratorical training given at colleges should have this in view. (We have had enough of "demonstrative oratory"; what we need now is men who can hold their own against all comers on the things of which all the world is thinking and by which the world is shaken; who are not afraid of a blatherskite, and who will not be willing to let him do all the talking on the questions of the day.) There could hardly be a more striking illustration of the shortcomings of our colleges in this particular than the history of the pending silver movement. It is, all things considered, the boldest and most per-

sistent assault which has been made on public and private faith since the foundation of the Government. It has elicited a prodigious amount of speaking and writing, and has revealed depths of folly, ignorance, and knavery which no lover of the country can see without alarm. And yet how many "educated men," properly so called, have taken part in the discussion it has caused? As far as our observation has gone, one might almost count them on the fingers of one hand. They have for the most part treated it as if it were a "politician's" question, and left it to the newspapers, and buried themselves in their books and private affairs, or, if they have spoken at all, have confined themselves to general and inoffensive observations on the advantages of virtue in the conduct of public business.

#### THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AFTER PLEVNA.

PARIS, December 28, 1877.

THE fall of Plevna has produced the greatest sensation here, even coming in the midst of a political crisis which engrossed the public attention. This great event has a military as much as a political importance. It can be well said that the art of war has been completely transformed by the use of arms which allow the infantry to fire very rapidly and at great distances. Many of the famous manoeuvres which have rendered the name of Napoleon immortal, and gave him for a few years the domination of Europe, would now be quite impossible, and the great warrior would be obliged to change his strategy as well as his tactics. The use of the new arms was shown for the first time in your great American war; your generals discovered almost instinctively and under the pressure of necessity the laws of the new warfare. They found that war has become to a certain extent a question of arithmetic and geometry: that the bravest troops cannot advance against a long front of men who can fire rapidly, and who are protected by improvised intrenchments, or even by rifle-pits. The siege of Richmond became the most extraordinary illustration of the new rules of war: the besiegers had to defend themselves exactly in the same way as the besieged; redoubts were opposed to redoubts, trenches to trenches; the long coil of fortifications was drawn round Richmond; the courage was equal on both sides; each party was impregnable in its own intrenchments; in the end the besieged were obliged to capitulate.

So it happened again at Plevna. There are probably no better troops than the troops which were commanded by Osman Pasha—sober, hardy, obedient, imbued with the courage which is inspired by a strong religious faith; nevertheless, as soon as the road to Sophia was shut on Osman, as soon as the circle of rifle-pits and trenches was complete round Plevna, the defeat of the Turks became, so to speak, a question of time. Osman attacked the redoubts of the Russians on the last day, for the sake of his own honor and of the honor of his army; he probably had little hope to break through the lines which were defended by such a formidable fire. I have heard from an eye-witness an account of the attack on the lines at St. Privat, which were held by Marshal Canrobert before Metz. Canrobert had, so to speak, buried all his men in rifle-pits; when the Prussian guard advanced against his line a tremendous fire arose from the earth; the plain was swept by projectiles in rapid succession; in ten minutes six thousand men, the flower of the German host, were on the ground, the victims of a boldness which no longer finds application in the present system of warfare. The Germans succeeded in taking Metz, because Bazaine kept his army before it: he was shut in, hemmed in as Osman Pasha was at Plevna. The city fell with the army, while the destinies of the city and of the army might have been kept separate.

It seems as if the rule of numbers was invading war as well as politics: the new system of warfare requires immense armies, capable of enveloping any position, any army, opposed to it. The moral, individual qualities of the soldier seem to be becoming less important. Take the most stupid soldier, place him in a rifle-pit, give him an excellent gun and plenty of cartridges, suppose him to be an atom among thousands of other atoms equally destructive, and you can produce the most terrible effects with elements in themselves inferior. A Moltke, a Todleben, will play at war as we play at chess. Far be it from me to deprecate those moral qualities which, at a given time or given point, can still play a very important part. It seems to me, however, that war is becoming altered in its character, that it now requires cool strategists, able to move enormous masses of men. I say it with regret because these conditions seem to impose upon all the civilized nations of Europe the system of compulsory and universal military service; all the nations which take so much pride in their civilization must therefore become armed nations. England, isolated in her island, may perhaps escape this necessity, espe-

cially if she contrives to make in India a nursery of soldiers. Her army, in order to be very effective, need not be composed exclusively of British soldiers; it only requires English commanders and officers, English discipline and English arms. The military teachings of the present war between the Turks and the Russians throw a sort of gloom over the future of Europe. The friends of civilization cannot help being satisfied in seeing a race of conquerors who have been a curse to the finest parts of Europe fallen from their old glory, and threatened in Constantinople itself. And the Turks ought to be driven back to Asia Minor. New states would soon flourish in the valley of the Danube; Greece, assuming the proportions of a real state, would soon become an important empire; the Rumanians, who have shown real military qualities, might become agents of civilization in the west of Europe. But the satisfaction which can be felt at such prospects is diminished by the vision of a Europe which will be perforce in arms from one end to the other. Till the new equilibrium is found which must take the place of the old, till time has soothed the passions and angers which are now felt, the rising generations will all be taught the art of war, and enormous forces will be permanently wasted. The last word of civilization will be a state of perpetual (real or virtual) warfare. What, under these circumstances, will be the future of the few small states which are still in existence? What can be the chances of Belgium, of Holland, of Switzerland, of Denmark, in this great struggle for life of ardent, ambitious, and unscrupulous nationalities? "L'Europe, quelle est cette femme?" once said Forcade, in one of his luminous chronicles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He was right: this Europe, known by the statesmen and the diplomatists of past times, no longer exists; and who can doubt that force will be a necessary agent of the transformation of the European states?

I have always believed in what is called the alliance of the three Emperors. At the time when it was the fashion to represent the Germanic and the Russian interests as necessarily hostile, I did not doubt that there was a complete understanding between the men who can direct the policy of Germany and the policy of Russia. At the time when Klaczko wrote his book, 'The Two Chancellors,' I did not believe that he would succeed in his effort to separate Germany and Russia. He there represented Russia as having been completely outwitted by Prince Bismarck, after having been his tool during the war of Sadowa and the French war; but Prince Bismarck, notwithstanding the great antipathy which is felt in Germany towards Russia, especially among the Liberals, notwithstanding the fidelity of many statesmen to the old Metternichian doctrines, entered into a close alliance with Russia, and did so with his usual frankness—a frankness the brutality of which is often as deceitful or more deceitful than duplicity. He drew Austria by a gentle compulsion into the alliance. I think that I am not much mistaken if I affirm that *all* was arranged more than two years ago, in the expectation of Russia's victory over Turkey, between Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. Nothing was arranged in view of a possible defeat. Russia took *all* the risks on herself; if she had suffered an irreparable defeat, she would have been obliged to recross the Danube without any compensation for her great sacrifices. The alliance of Germany was only intended to guarantee to her the neutrality of the other European powers. In case of victory, however, I have reason to believe that something approaching a positive agreement has been prepared. There is nothing in common between Poland and Turkey; what has been prepared resembles, however, the famous partition of Poland. In this case the three allies will not make conquests, nor increase considerably their own possessions: new states will be formed which will be placed under the guarantee or protectorate of the allies. Even before the war broke out Prince Charles of Hohenzollern had made a convention with the Czar for the passage of the Russian armies; the Rumanians have fought bravely by the side of the Russians, and Bucharest is likely to become the capital of an important Danubian state, perhaps of a Danubian kingdom, which will cease to be under the nominal vassalage of the Commander of the Faithful. The conduct of Count Andrassy has taken by surprise the friends as well as the enemies of Austria. While the Magyars made demonstrations in favor of the Turks, the Slavs were not allowed to show their sympathies for Servia; there was no desire at Vienna to encourage the rebellion of a considerable body of Slavs. When the settlement of the Eastern question approaches, these apparent inconsistencies will be explained. Count Andrassy was in the secret of the Emperors: he calmed Hungary at a time when any movement of Austria-Hungary would have been injurious to the Russian projects. Austria-Hungary will have her reward, and I should be surprised if there was not in the Imperial family an Archduke already ready to do in Bosnia, Herz-

govina, Servia, and even Bulgaria, what the Prince of Hohenzollern will have to do on the Lower Danube.

The offers of mediation which Turkey has made since her great defeat at Plevna have met and could meet with no success, since Eastern affairs have come to the point where human things, after long troubles and anxieties, can at last find their natural development and termination. I have read this morning a letter from St. Petersburg, written by a competent judge, describing the enthusiasm felt by the Russian people, and I noticed the words, "Our Czar will himself *dictate* the peace." The war will go on, and it is even said that the Czar is anxious to go now to Armenia. Who is going to stop the natural development of events? Who will rise and tell the Russians that they will not be allowed to press victory like a fruit full of juice? Who will oppose a contrary solution to the solution so long ago marked out by the Chancellors of Europe? Italy has placed herself completely in the orbit of the three powers. During the summer she sent Crispi, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, to Vienna and to Berlin. France is determined not to recommence a Crimean war, and whether her Minister of Foreign Affairs calls himself Deceze or Waddington her policy is so plain, so natural, that no power in Europe can hope to drag her for its own benefit from her isolation.

These mighty considerations cannot fail to impress themselves on the statesmen of England. Great Britain has, single-handed, done wonderful things; but a war against Russia, inflated by victory, satisfied with the sanctity of her cause, supported by the alliance of Germany, by the assent of all the minor powers of Europe, would be such a tremendous undertaking as even Lord Palmerston, if he was still alive, would hesitate before attempting. And what would now be the object of the war? Can the rule of the Turk be re-established in the provinces now occupied by enormous armies? can a British army retake Plevna? The war could only be concentrated around Constantinople. We might have a siege of Sebastopol reversed, but at the end of such a siege, whatever the result might be, the yoke of Turkey over the greater part of her Christian provinces would none the less be broken. England is hesitating; she asks herself whether she had not better give up the cause of Turkey as a lost cause and assure herself of some naval positions in order to increase the security of her commerce in the East, or whether it is still time, by prompt and decisive action, to save the remnants of the Treaty of Paris. It is never safe to prophesy what England may do; Baron Brunnow misled the Emperor Nicholas when he assured him that England would never go to war. England is prudent, she is cautious, she is intelligent, and can see the most distant consequences of a fact; but she is proud and passionate, and there are moments when all wisdom seems to her folly, and when all her prudence is lost in the instincts which are always dormant in her race. When Parliament meets on the 17th of January she will approach one of those moments which are the turning-points in the history of a nation.

## Correspondence.

### THE STABILITY OF THE GOLD STANDARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you have the kindness to enlighten some of your benighted Western readers by answering in your paper the following queries?

1st. Is there, or can there be in the nature of things, an absolutely invariable unit or measure of value, as a yard is a measure of length or a bushel of quantity?

2d. Is the value of gold irrevocably fixed by the cost of its production, or does it, like that of all other commodities, though being made by law the standard, and consequently remaining nominally the same, in reality constantly vary with the supply and demand?

3d. If a gold dollar is always and everywhere of the same value, really as well as in name, how can it pay at one time to transport it from New York to London and at another time back again?

4th. Supposing that it does really change in value, according to the supply and demand, how could the fact be ascertained and the variation measured while it is the only standard, and, of course, nominally the same?

T. P. SEELEY, M.D.

CHICAGO, January 3, 1878.

[1. There is not, and there cannot be; because a measure of value measures desire as well as quantity. Gold is a commodity, and the object of desire as such, and for reasons arising out of its steadiness

of weight, its bulk, durability, and comparative cost of production, is a commodity through which it is convenient to exchange other commodities.

2. No, it is not; it varies partly with the cost of production, and partly with supply and demand.

3. The gold dollar is not always and everywhere of the same value, because the supply and demand are not always and everywhere the same. It pays to transport it from New York to London, and *vice versa*, when its value, owing to exceptional causes, at the one place is sufficiently greater than its value at the other to pay the cost of transportation and a small profit. This variation in value has been so often explained as to be one of the commonplaces of political economy. The favorite and most useful illustration of the process is that which supposes the world's supply of gold to be a central reservoir, from which the gold flows to those points at which the demand for it has risen and away from those at which the demand has fallen, and this ebb and flow goes on constantly, forming a sort of general tendency to equilibrium. Demand for gold is indicated by a fall in prices, or, in other words, by an increased readiness to sell, say in New York, after a panic. It then flows to New York from London until the supply in New York is such as to raise prices there and lower them in London, and it then flows back. In other words, it is constantly seeking its level, like water, all over the world. One advantage of using the same currency as other nations is, that we can, when short of money, draw on this central reservoir. In 1873, for instance, being out of monetary connection with Europe, the gold supply of Europe could do nothing to relieve the local pressure. When it came here it lay in the banks idle, greenbacks all the while bringing a heavy premium. The silver lunatics propose to continue this isolation.

4. The only way of finding out whether it has changed in value is by finding out whether its power of purchasing a number of other commodities, sufficiently large for safe generalization, has increased or diminished. To prove it, an examination of the silver-price of a variety of commodities in various commercial countries would be necessary.—ED. NATION.]

#### GOVERNOR RICE'S MONARCHICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : It is greatly to be regretted that the Governor of Massachusetts should have announced himself on the side of Messrs. Conkling, Blaine, Butler, and Chandler in respect to civil-service reform. It is further to be regretted that he took advantage of his official communication to the Legislature for an announcement so contrary to all the latest utterances of the conventions and of the best public men of Massachusetts.

We say that we regret his action; we cannot say that we are surprised. With rectitude in his pecuniary relations to the world, with all the ordinary household virtues, and with excellent talents for administrative office, still it has never been thought or claimed that Governor Rice has in him any of that stuff of which heroes, martyrs, or reformers are made. His want of backbone, his almost morbid dread of unpopularity, are as well known in his State and as freely acknowledged as any fact in his history. He has been entrusted with a series of offices in spite of these defects, and because of the good qualities we have named.

The paragraph in which he treats of civil-service reform is carefully composed of strong and high-sounding generalities, but on everything practical it is a complete surrender. His quick eye for popular effects showed him how civil-service reform could be opposed with the most popular results, the least risk to himself, and leaving to himself the easiest opportunities for receding in case his reckoning of political probabilities should turn out mistaken. He is painfully impressed with the consideration that a permanent civil service, one in which the tenure shall be good behavior, however desirable, is monarchical! It is unsuited to a republic! The only civil service suited to republican institutions is such as we have been blessed with the last forty years.

"Much of the controversy on the subject has arisen out of the differing methods and polities employed or advocated to secure these results. It has sometimes appeared, to those who have given thought to the matter, that the partial failure which has hitherto attended the efforts to improve the civil service has come from mistaken arguments, which would,

if successful, engraft upon our republican government the characteristic civil service of monarchies; and that many of the complaints made against the American system of civil service are, in reality, complaints against a republican form of government itself, through the system of civil service, which is a necessary part of that government. In a monarchy, authority in the civil service is represented in the crown; and schools of training may be maintained, and their graduates appointed to places in the various departments, with the certainty that, if found to be competent and faithful, they will remain there through life, or through the continuance of a dynasty." But a republic is a monarchy upside down."

"*The American system*," then, is the spoils system of the last forty years! And it is "a necessary part of that government"! A system of good-behavior tenure, irrespective of party voting and acting, for the lower offices, is the "characteristic civil service of monarchies"! And all this because "a republic is a monarchy upside down"! We supposed better things of a republic. We supposed it had a positive and distinct character of its own, and was not something else inverted, topsy-turvy, or lying on its side. If a republic is a monarchy upside down, we suppose a governor is a king standing on his head. Some people thought so at Philadelphia, in 1876, but we never sympathized with those envious speeches. We took pride in seeing the Governor of the great commonwealth surrounded by the most splendid retinue and gorgeous escort of them all.

It seems to us that His Excellency's description of a republic fits perfectly the present civil service. It is, if anything ever was, a despotism with the heels at the top and the brains at the bottom. Its rule has been despotic and personal, its motive-power spoils, and its tenure political personal servitude, unworthy of the free citizens of a republic.

Armies and navies have been characteristic of monarchies. No reader of history can forget that a regular army was opposed in England, on the accession of William III., upon the ground that it was unworthy of a constitutional monarchy—the characteristic tool of despotism; and the historical evidence to that position was insuperable. But Lord Somers and the wisest Liberals of that day had faith enough in the people and parliament of England to believe that they could maintain an army and navy with no danger to their liberties, and so it has turned out. Our Army and our Military Academy were attacked on the same grounds; and now, after the Mexican War and our civil war, an occasional demagogue is heard attempting the same cry, but in a feeble way, and with no acclain in his support. The argument is equally good against the good-behavior tenure of the judges, which is the pride and bulwark of Governor Rice's State and of the republic, and it was used with too much effect by demagogues in times past, so that the corrected opinion of this day finds it difficult to restore that tenure where it has been lost. The change in the judiciary from one dependent on "the powers that be" to a tenure during good behavior is the greatest advance ever made in England toward freedom, good government, law, and order. The next was the emancipation of the vast body of inferior civil servants from the control, not of the Crown, but of the Cabinet and its leading supporters, and putting them upon a good-behavior tenure, irrespective of their votes, and freed from the personal servitude to party leaders. The English Liberals made this change, and the English Radicals are its devoted supporters. When Mr. Mundella, the Radical member from Sheffield, was in this country, observing our institutions with a keen and practical eye, he left us, in his speech at the Cooper Institute, a solemn warning against the effects of our present civil-service system. It was the most discouraging thing he had seen in America. He held up the independent good-behavior tenure of England as a system distinctly favorable to the independence and dignity of the people, and adverse to the despotism of one or of the few.

It taxes one's patience and good nature to criticise such talk as this, from whatever source it comes. But when it is used by intelligent men, whether from lack of virtue or of courage, to prop up a system which has disgraced and imperilled our republic in the eyes of republicans and liberals the world over, and furnish the advocates of despotism with their best arguments against us, we can only hope that the people will show more faith in themselves and their institutions than do their political advisers; that they will not sit down under the evil as a "necessary part of their government" because it is "a monarchy upside down," but will go forward in the belief that a republic can stand an independent tenure of its civil servants, subject to removal only for misconduct or incapacity, and no longer the trembling mendicants before the local party power, without danger of being turned into a monarchy standing on its feet. And we trust that our public men will not be scared by Governor Rice's insinuation, that all who support a reformed civil-service system are

secret enemies of a republic; and that he himself will be converted by seeing an unmistakable turn of the tide in its favor.

A MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN.

BOSTON, January 10.

PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS AND PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS.

To THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your course towards President Hayes is eminently fair. I say this because I wrote you a note of criticism a year ago in another connection. But in a recent article you named various appointments made by him to which you took more or less exception. You named, however, Wm. Henry Smith, Collector of Chicago, as one instance of an appointment made upon the merits of the man. I happen to know a good deal about that. Mr. Smith was worthy to be appointed upon his merits only; but he is and has long been an intimate personal friend of Mr. Hayes, and rendered him very efficient service in the campaigns for the Governorship of Ohio. The point, however, is, Does civil-service reform require that a man eminently fitted for a position should fail of that position simply because he is a personal friend of the President?

Very truly yours,

JAMES H. TAYLOR.

ROME, N. Y., January 8, 1878.

[No, it does not, under ordinary circumstances, or rather would not were the civil service reformed. But when the fight against appointments through favoritism and influence is just beginning, and when the public has not yet been educated to believe in the possibility of anything else, or in the sincerity of those who advocate anything else, we think the President does the cause considerable injury by appointing men who, however good, are his personal friends, or have rendered him personal service, as long as anybody else equally well fitted for the place can readily be found. Such appointments give scandal, and shake the popular faith, and, in fact, are condemned by the argument which forbids the most upright judge to take presents from suitors.—ED. NATION.]

TREATMENT OF COOLIES IN CUBA.

To THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of October 18, speaking of the report of the Chinese Commissioners to Cuba, as recently republished in China, with illustrations, you say: "A few of the scenes we owe solely to the artist's imagination, like that in plate 39, . . . and probably in that in plate 36, where the sugar is being refined with men's bones."

I went with the commission to Cuba, and while there read and copied several hundred of the statements of their grievances which were made by the coolies to the Commission, and furnished the materials for a large part of the report. I also heard through the interpreters of the Commission much that was said by the coolies that was not committed to writing. Among the complaints made of ill treatment, in forms too varied and horrible to be easily imagined by any one who had not the opportunity to hear and see those most wretched men, none were more frequent and bitter than complaints about the disposition of the bodies of those who died—the leaving them unburied, throwing them into the sea, throwing them into pits, etc., and, along with the rest, the statement was again and again made to us that the bones of Chinamen were used for refining sugar. This was almost the first complaint that we heard, and it was repeated by scores of men. Whether Chinamen's bones, or any bones at all, are so used I do not know; but there is no doubt whatever in my mind that the coolies in Cuba generally believe that sugar there is refined in the way depicted by the artist. Probably the artist got his information from some of the servants or attachés of the Commission, unless, indeed, the few coolies who have from time to time returned to China may have circulated this story there.

HENRY T. TERRY.

TOKIO, JAPAN, November 25, 1877.

Notes.

CASSELL, PETTER & GALPIN publish early next month a 'Dictionary of English Literature,' by W. Davenport Adams; a comprehensive guide to English authors and their works, and, if we may judge from the prospectus, a cross between Allibone, Vaperon, and

Bartlett ('Familiar Quotations').—G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for immediate publication the following works not previously mentioned in these columns: 'Over Mental Work and Emotional Disturbance as Causes of Cerebral Congestion,' by Dr. Wm. A. Hammond; 'A Manual of Nursing,' by Dr. Victoria White, revised and edited by Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi; 'Canoeing in Kanuckia,' by Col. W. L. Norton and John Habberton, illustrated; 'Pottery,' by Geo. Ward Nichols; 'Handbook of Ceramic Art,' by M. S. Lockwood; a series of art manuals by Mrs. Robert Carter, principal of the Cooper Union School of Design, beginning with the 'Art of Sketching from Nature'; 'The Elective Franchise in the United States,' by D. C. McMillan; and 'Railroads and Railroad Questions,' by Charles Francis Adams, jr. The same house have begun issuing a series of "Economic Monographs," which already includes: 'Why we Trade and How we Trade,' and 'The Silver Question,' by David A. Wells—the former embracing part of Mr. Wells's controversy with "Merchant" in these columns; and 'The Tariff Question,' by Horace White. These monographs correspond very well with Von Holtzendorff's *Zeil- und Streit-Fragen* series.—Vol. xii. of 'Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,' just issued from the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, consists of documents pertaining to the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware River (1624-1692), translated and compiled by B. Fernow, keeper of the Historical Records. Mr. John Bigelow furnishes the introductory historical *aperçu*. It is a serious defect of the volume that the table of contents is not paged, and that there is no index.—A remarkable catalogue called "2,700 Personals," has been sent us by Charles L. Woodward, of 78 Nassau St. It is a condensed list, in alphabetical order, of funeral sermons, eulogies, biographical sketches, etc., generally so much in request and so hard to find.—Mr. Wm. Cushing, of the Harvard College Library, has indexed the *North American Review*, both for subjects and authors, down to 1878, and invites subscriptions to a bound volume at \$2 50.—Professor Simon Newcomb has been elected a foreign member of the Royal Society of London, an honor hitherto enjoyed by Dr. Asa Gray alone among living Americans.—Prof. Tyndall's latest contribution to the Spontaneous Generation controversy—an account of his researches during his last summer's stay in the Alps—will appear in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February.

—Messrs. Porter & Coates write us from Philadelphia:

"We notice that in your review of Hullah's 'Music in the House,' in your number of 10th inst., you speak of it as being preferable to a dollar's worth of trashy sheet-music, thereby creating the impression in the reader's mind that the price of the book is \$1. Will you please make some mention of the price of it in your next issue, as intending purchasers would then remit the correct amount (75 cents)?"

—We have received from B. Westermann & Co. the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1878. In its select portrait-gallery President Hayes figures among princes and princesses, and in the "Chronique" the United States, as usual, holds the first place, the Presidential struggle furnishing most of the incidents recorded. The novel features of the *Almanach* are few, but some are of considerable value. The census statistics of Germany and of Chili (1875) have been slightly corrected in accordance with the latest computations; the bare result of the French census of 1876, announced last November, is also given; and the American editor and statistician will find convenient our State and city censuses of 1875 which are here added in foot-notes. The comparative tables at the end of the volume are noteworthy in more than one particular. Thus, the issue of the Russo-Turkish war could not be better predicted than by the simple statement (p. 1027) that the army of Russia on a peace-footing is 787,998 strong, while that of Turkey is 157,667. For the first time the statistics as to the length of railroad lines have been supplemented by tables showing the number of persons transported and tons moved, absolutely and per kilometer; the gross receipts (total and respectively from passengers and freight), and the net proceeds after deducting costs of working. These have been prepared by Professor Stürmer. Still more valuable just now are Dr. Ad. Soetbeer's observations on the precious metals and on currency and banking systems, both European and American. Tables showing the production of gold and silver during the present century, in which the United States overtakes and surpasses Australia and Mexico; the relative value of the metal products, from which it appears that silver, which in the first decade (1801-10) was worth 77.3 per cent. of the total, was in 1871-5 worth only 42.8; the exportations to British India; the ratio of the two metals since 1830, the average of silver having fallen from 15.67 in 1831-40 to 17.79 in 1876; the mean price of silver at London for each month of 1875-77; the monetary reform in Germany;

the metallic reserve and note circulation of the Banks of England, France, Germany, and Austria ; and some German statistics of circulation and exchange. Dr. Soetbeer announces his intention to publish shortly an essay embracing the most salient data in regard to the economic history of the precious metals from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present day. This work will be awaited with interest.

—The first number of the *American Naturalist* (vol. xii.) issued by its new publishers, McCalla & Staveley, Philadelphia, shows that in respect to its external appearance the change of management has not been for the better, and the contents are at least not superior to the average of former issues. What is more ominous, however, is the defection of scientists like Messrs. Alexander Agassiz and J. A. Allen, and Professors Gray, J. D. Whitney, Hagen, Shaler, J. D. Dana, Marsh, Verrill, Newberry, etc., who in a private circular withdraw the use of their names and support. Another, more special, scientific periodical, deserving a good word on the opening of its new volume (vol. iii.), is the quarterly *Bulletin* of the Nuttall Ornithological Club, Cambridge, Mass. We are glad to see that the conductors of this useful publication, which, by the way, is not an organ or in any way restricted except to ornithology, have been encouraged to enlarge it to forty-eight pages, with a proportionate increase in the subscription price to \$2. A special feature of the present volume, says the prospectus, will be an exhaustive résumé of the current literature relating to North American ornithology. The January number is embellished with a colored lithographic representation of the *Passerulus bairdi*, and contains the first of a series of important articles on the first plumage in various species of North American birds, by William Brewster, and an excellent piece of criticism, by J. A. Allen, on Mr. A. R. Wallace's "Theory of Birds' Nests," which the reviewer finds wofully "inadequate." The *Bulletin* is printed at the University Press, and is altogether attractive. As both the *Naturalist* and the *Bulletin* appeal to general support, so a more than professional interest should be taken in the *American Architect* (Boston : J. R. Osgood & Co.), which entered upon its third volume with the issue of January 5. This weekly journal came full-grown into existence, and has been fortunate from the start in its editorial management. We do not remember to have read a number (and we have missed reading few) that did not contain some information for which every householder might be thankful. The discussions are mostly of a practical character, and calculated to diffuse sound ideas as to the nature of the architect's calling, his responsibilities, and the duty of clients to co-operate with him in behalf of honest building. The heliotype illustrations furnish some idea of the capacity of the architects who contribute drawings of their works ; or, when native material is scanty, represent well-chosen specimens of European architecture. In No. 106 Prof. Wm. R. Ware begins a series of papers on the difficult subject of perspective, to which we are safe in calling attention.

—The author of the article on "The Cosmogony of Paradise Lost" in *Harper's Magazine* for December writes us from London under date of December 28 :

"In the *Nation* of December 13, which I have just seen, I find that through a piece of culpable carelessness on my part I have incurred the charge of a deliberate plagiarism. I have no right to complain that the charge was made, and I simply desire to state that the offence was one of inadvertence and not of intent. The article in *Harper's Magazine* on 'The Cosmogony of Paradise Lost' was merely a condensation or adaptation of the Introduction to Professor Masson's edition of Milton. To attempt to palm off as my own a reproduction of the contents of so well known a book would have been no less foolish than unscrupulous. My article was one of a class very familiar to the compilers and readers of the monthly magazines, articles of which the material is taken directly and obviously from some book, either old or newly published, the original source receiving full credit. There is, of course, not the slightest objection on the point of morality to such reproductions, however unambitious they may be in a literary way. I have prepared very many of these condensations for newspapers and magazines, and have always given full and conspicuous credit to the original authorities. I failed to do so in the present case by one of those unreasonable lapses of attention which it may be easy to call improbable or incredible, but of which perhaps the experience of every man will supply an instance. As I was absent from the country when the article was printed, I did not see the proof-sheets and missed this opportunity of correcting my palpable oversight. I perhaps owe some apologies likewise to the editor of the magazine, for though I explained to him the character and source of the article, taking him Masson's book that he might have the diagrams reproduced, it was certainly my business to have been sure that the fact of the article's having been taken from Professor Masson's work was acknowledged."

—The *Sunday-School Times* (Philadelphia), of January 12, reproves the *Nation* for being "grieved at the increasing frequency of religious editorials in the secular press, especially at the Christmas season." As

for the "queer pulpits" from which they are preached, it thinks nobody ought to object to a pickpocket's reading Luke's account of the Nativity to a bar-room audience ; and if this argument is calculated to disarm prejudice against Donn Piatt's "Sunday Meditations," for example, the following information seems to cut the remaining ground from under us :

"Most of the daily papers that print religious editorials are edited, like Thackeray's ideal journal 'by gentlemen for gentlemen,' and are quite as worthy of a reputation for sincerity on the 25th of December as on any other day. Their graver articles are almost always prepared by the elder and more conscientious members of the staff, or, as is a frequent custom in city journals, by eminent clergymen outside the office."

That this, however, is not the view generally held by the religious press as to the origin of the "graver articles," appears from a recent remonstrance of the New York *Observer* (Religious Department). That journal insists that "the fact that many of the daily papers are engaged in discussing the doctrines of the churches is not to be looked upon favorably"; and again, that "it is not the province of the newspaper to discuss theological dogmas." The *Observer* would, we fancy, not have taken such strong ground if it had been familiar with the "frequent custom in city journals," or had suspected that it might really be censuring the work of "eminent clergymen outside the office." For a near neighbor of the *World* it is perhaps a little too unsuspecting.

—The latest European mails enable us both to correct and enlarge our necrological record of last week. The Danish poet, Christian Winther, died Dec. 30, 1876, and so by error was reported with the dead of 1877. M. Drouyn de Lhuys recovered "against almost all hopes." *Per contra*, Sweden lost Dec. 17, 1877, Johan Erik Rydqvist, the most eminent Scandinavian philologist of our time. In England, Dec. 23, died Thomas Wright, the indefatigable antiquary, author of the precious 'Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English,' of 'Narratives of Sorcery and Magic,' of a 'History of Caricature,' editor of the 'Political Ballads of the Commonwealth' and of numberless MSS. for various literary clubs and societies, translator of Napoleon's 'Life of Julius Caesar,' etc., etc.—quite beyond our power to catalogue. He was of Quaker descent. The ingenious electrician, Henry Daniel Ruhmkorff, a Hanoverian by birth but a Frenchman by education, inventor of the "coil" which perpetuates his name ; and Taxile Delord, the conscientious historian of the Second Empire, also passed away in 1877. And it was Alexander Bain, the electrician, not the metaphysician, who died last year.

—The controversy over the trial of Galileo seems to have taken a new turn from the latest work on the subject. It will be remembered that the great astronomer was informed in 1616 that the Copernican doctrine was contrary to the Sacred Scriptures and not to be held or defended. In 1632 he published at Florence a Dialogue in which the above doctrine seemed to be upheld, and for which he was summoned to Rome by the Inquisition. He was accused of having obtained permission to print his Dialogue by concealing from the censor the fact that he had been expressly forbidden at the above date to make any utterance on the subject. Galileo replied that he had only given in his work the arguments in favor of the system, and that he had received no command on the subject, having been simply informed by Cardinal Bellarmin that the system of Copernicus could not be held as true or defended, and that he had not contravened this prohibition. A document was then produced by the Inquisition, which purported to be a report of the interview of Cardinal Bellarmin with Galileo on the 26th of February, 1616. It stated that the Cardinal, in the presence of the Commissary-General, admonished Galileo of the error of the above opinion, and warned him to relinquish it, and not to hold it *in any manner, or teach or defend it* by word or writing, otherwise the Inquisition would proceed against him ; which command Galileo accepted and promised to obey. This is the command that Galileo did not remember (in his examination he says the words above underscored, "*à me son giunte novissime, e come inaudite*"), and which Dr. Emil Wohlwill, in his book 'Der Inquisitionsprocess des Galileo Galilei' (Berlin, 1870), first pronounced a forgery. In the discussion which thereupon arose the value of the above document was variously estimated, one side declaring that it was forged in order to obtain a condemnation not otherwise possible, the other side upholding the authenticity of the report, and asserting that Galileo could have been legally condemned without it on the strength of what he admitted that Cardinal Bellarmin really told him.

—Of course, in order to settle the question definitively, a careful examination of the original papers was necessary, and their complete publication desirable. The fate of the volume containing the papers concerning

Galileo's trial is well known. It was carried to Paris by the first Napoleon, and restored by Louis Philippe on condition that it should be published, a condition only partly and incorrectly fulfilled by the publication of Mgr. Marino Marini's "Galileo e l'Inquisizione" (Rome, 1850). In 1867 L'Epinois published in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* a partial and incorrect copy of the Vatican MS. In 1876 Prof. Domenico Berti published a copy of the MS. which he declared complete and correct, and, forgetful of the labors of L'Epinois, "edited for the first time," "Il Processo originale di Galileo Galilei, pubblicato per la prima volta" (Rome, 1876). Berti's work was not well done, for he omitted five entire documents, and gave the contents but briefly of more than fifty others. Besides this, the order of the documents differs from that of the original, and the editor modernizes the spelling and punctuation in a most unwarrantable manner. In the same year appeared Karl von Gebler's interesting work, "Galileo Galilei und die römische Curie" (Stuttgart, 1876). The author gave a life of Galileo and a detailed account of his conflicts with the Inquisition, declared the document of February 26, 1616, a forgery and supported his belief by cogent arguments. Berti, who upheld the authenticity of this document, replied that Von Gebler had never seen the original papers and could not pronounce on the falseness of one of the documents. Von Gebler thereupon went to Rome, and the result of his labors is a second volume of his work, entitled "Die Acten des Galilei'schen Prozesses, nach der Vaticanischen Handschrift" (Stuttgart, 1877). In the introduction the editor confesses that he was mistaken, and that the famous document must be authentic. It is written in the same hand and ink as other papers of the same date, and on the same leaf with a document of the day before. Von Gebler shows that this leaf could not have been inserted later. The question then arises whether the report of Feb. 26 is a true report of what took place. This the author denies, and the whole matter is practically left where it was before. Von Gebler then gives a reprint of the entire Vatican MS. with the utmost bibliographic correctness, indicating the length of the lines and pages, the direction of the endorsements on papers, etc.; and the student has now for the first time all the materials for an independent examination of the question. While Von Gebler was pursuing his labors in the Vatican, L'Epinois was there engaged in the same task (unknown, however, to the former), and shortly after published "Les Pièces du Procès de Galilé" (Paris, 1877). This editor has also given a complete and careful copy of the MS., with photographic copies of the most interesting papers, among them, of course, the reports of Feb. 25 and 26, 1616. Although the controversy is as far as ever from being settled, we have at least gained these complete and accurate transcripts of the record of one of the most interesting ecclesiastical trials in the history of the Romish Church. An able review of the question in its latest phase was begun by Dr. Scartazzini in the *Rivista Europea* for December 1.

#### EGYPT.\*

WHAT Peter the Great was to Russia, Mehemet Ali was to Egypt. The one created an unchecked absolutism by destroying the Strelitzes, the other by exterminating the Mamelukes. Each formed an army on the European model with the help of foreign adventurers; Solyman Bey was Mehemet Ali's Lefort. Each violently modernized his country, vastly expanded its limits and power, and, so to say, introduced it into the Occidental concert of nations. Both were unbridled despots, intensely ambitious, crafty, and, when needed, cruel. Each achieved more by revolutionary reform than by arms, although both were conquerors. The innovations of both, though thoroughly unnatural, have succeeded in radically changing the forms of government and administration.

But here the parallel ends. The reforms of Peter were imposed upon a large, independent, homogeneous, sturdy, and comparatively young nation of northerners; those of Mehemet Ali upon an exhausted and ground-down population of mixed race, occupying a sub-tropical dependency of a tottering empire, and bound by religious allegiance to the master of its master. The conquests of Peter extended the limits of Muscovy in the direction of more civilized nations, as well as in that of the decaying East; of the conquests of Mehemet Ali only those remained permanent which enlarged Egypt with domains of tropical and almost equatorial barbarism. Peter became the ruler of a power able to cope not only with its feeble neighbors, Sweden, Poland, Turkey, and Persia, but also with the mightiest of nations; Mehemet Ali conquered all his neighbors, Wahabees, Nubiens, and Turks, but naturally succumbed to the

intervention of the great European Powers. The empire left by the former was destined to grow by its collisions with the surrounding states, almost all then on the decline: the semi-independent state created by the latter was doomed, by its position on the road to India, to fall under the more or less pronounced protectorate of a great maritime power.

In one respect the comparison is unfair. We compare the Egypt of to-day with Russia as we know her, while we ought to compare her with Russia under the fourth successor of Peter. Egypt, under Mehemet Ali's fourth successor, is more surprisingly, and perhaps more beneficially, transformed than Russia was then. In any case, whether Egypt is destined to realize the dream of a great new Arabic empire or not, she presents one of the most curious phenomena in the history of our century, and a plain and unadorned picture of her present condition, such as Mr. McCowan's is, is a welcome addition to our ethnographical and statistical stock of knowledge. That writer is far from being devoid of ancient or modern Oriental lore, and might easily have rendered his pages more attractive by sketches tinged with Eastern glow or with reflections of Pharaonic hues, but he has preferred giving us a strictly matter-of-fact account of the realm of the Khedive as it is, mainly considered as a government. We are glad of his choice. He has seen fit, also, to leave out of his picture the social life of the country, for the reason that he considers "the vivid portraiture of the manners and customs of both Arab and Copt" drawn by Mr. Lane in his "Modern Egyptians" to be "as true still as it was forty years ago." We will follow the author in his observations.

The part of Africa ruled by Ismail, the son of Ibrahim Pasha and grandson of Mehemet Ali, extends from the Mediterranean to near the equator—its southern limit "may for the present be fixed at Gondokoro (lat. 4° 55' N.)"—and from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to beyond Darfour, measuring more than eighteen hundred (not "1,600") miles from north to south, with an average breadth of about three hundred and fifty miles. But the Egypt of politics and trade, to which our author limits his pages, is still the Egypt of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, mainly consisting of the Delta and the narrow valley of the Nile up to the first cataract, in lat. 24° 5'. Of this country only about eleven thousand square miles are watered by the river, of which less than two-thirds—4,625,000 acres—is actually under tillage. The total cultivable surface of the annexed territories—Nubia and the Soodan—is roughly estimated at 150,000 square miles. The population of Egypt proper, compared to the cultivable area, is denser than that of any state in Europe, not excluding Belgium, numbering "rather over than under 5,500,000"; that of the annexed provinces, on a mean of the conjectures of various travellers, is vaguely estimated at 10,000,000 or 11,000,000.

The component elements of the population of Egypt proper are thus approximately computed: Settled Arabs (fellahs), 4,500,000; Bedouins, 300,000; Turks, 10,000; Copts, 500,000; Abyssinians, 3,000; Nubiens and Soodanees (mostly slaves), 40,000; Jews, 20,000; Rayah Greeks, 20,000; Syrians, 7,000; Armenians, 10,000; various foreigners, 90,000. Of the main element, the Arabian, only one-third is considered to be of purely Semitic descent, and the bulk as descendants of the Copts who embraced Islam immediately or at various periods after the Arab conquest. The fellahs are a fine race, muscular and tall. "The agriculture of the country is mainly in the hands of the Moslem fellahs, its accounts-keeping in those of the Copts; the Turks are for the most part proprietors and officials, the Negroes domestic servants, and the Levantines and Europeans, in their multitudinous varieties, traders, shopkeepers, and dealers in money." The natural increase of the population is considerable, having risen from the annual number of 33,000 during the ten years ending 1861 to nearly 47,000 in 1862-6, and to 63,000 in 1867-71, and thus, if continued at the last rate, promising the doubling of the population in less than sixty years.

The Arabic element, fostered by religious influences, gives to Egypt its national character, which is still preserved not only in the rural districts but in Cairo and almost all other towns, the showy and noisy appearance of the European and Levantine admixtures notwithstanding. And yet, how unlike in appearance is the urban Egypt of to-day to the urban Egypt of the Caliphs or Mamalukes? Here is Alexandria—the St. Petersburg of the Khedive—glorying in "dockyards and arsenals, steam-engines and steamships, mills, factories, railways, and electric telegraphs," and there Cairo—his Moscow—with its hotels and blocks of European shops and dwellings, its opera-house and French comic theatre, its "Greek and German brasseries and musical cafés," and its "new Khedive Club, founded on the model of our best London institutions, under the patronage of the heir apparent," and its balls and concerts at the palace

\* "Egypt as It Is." By J. C. McCowan. With a Map, taken from the most recent survey. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877. 8vo. pp. 417.

during the winter, which "bring together the official, financial, and commercial *élite* of both Cairo and Alexandria."

The aspiration of Egypt is to become an Arabic power, distinct from Turkey in nationality, and our author entertains no doubt that were the Khedive, now a viceroy whose dignity is secured by solemn stipulations to his descendants in a direct line of succession, to declare his entire independence to-morrow, he would be supported by all classes of the Egyptian people. He now pays a tribute of £685,308 to the Sultan, is bound to give him military aid against his enemies, and has no representation abroad; in every other respect he is the sovereign of Egypt, its absolute ruler. He negotiates treaties, raises armies, carries on war, imposes taxes, and issues decrees, untrammelled by a veto of the suzerain or a vote of the people. An Assembly of Delegates, consisting of village sheikhs and other provincial notables, is convened, it is true, every year, to receive a report on the administration, and consider all proposed fiscal changes, and other matters laid before it; but its function is, at the best, advisory, without any legislative power. But while considering the Khedive as his king, the Moslem Egyptian is also bound by religious ties to the Sultan as his Caliph, and "in any struggle involving positive peril to Islam—not merely political danger to the Porte—the Arab would infallibly make common cause with the Turk."

The higher administration is completely fashioned on European models, including a Privy Council, a Cabinet of eight ministers, and numerous bureaus; but, in reality, "*L'état c'est le Khédive*." He both reigns and governs, and the highest dignitaries are merely the tools of his will. Mr. McCoan's picture of him smacks of panegyric. According to him the Khedive is the reverse of a modern Sardanapalus, which a "commodo fallacy" makes him to be; he is as a ruler a kind of Frederic the Great, "seeing everything, knowing everything, and ordering everything for himself," almost without interruption or rest. Unfortunately, however, he inherited from his predecessor not a model army and an overflowing treasury, as the restlessly active Prussian did, but resources drained in every respect, and the costly enterprise of the Suez Canal, which, with other public and private enterprises of a dazzling character, with blackmail to Stambul, and extortionate interest on loans added to loans, gradually plunged Egypt into the vortex of financial ruin, and finally, in November, 1876, placed her resources under foreign revenue controllers, and subjected her to international tribunals. The period of financial and economical misrule which then ended with the fall of the minister of finance, Ismail Sadyk, is acknowledged by our author to have been one of unparalleled extortion and corruption, though he endeavors to whitewash the all-seeing and all-ordering prince.

The financial condition of the country is thus epitomized: "In 1835 the revenue was estimated at £2,600,000, and the expenditure at about £2,300,000, without any public debt whatever. In 1862, the last year of Said Pasha's reign, the figures had risen respectively to £4,929,000 and £1,330,000, with a debt of £3,292,300; while last year's budget claimed an income of £10,772,611, against an outlay (exclusive of interest on the floating debt) of £8,981,852, with a total state debt since fixed by the Göschen-Joubert scheme at £76,000,000." As settled by the decree of November 18, 1876, the debt now roundly amounts to £80,393,000, on most of which the interest is 7 per cent. In regard to taxation the strain "has reached a point beyond which, for some years at least to come, it cannot be safely carried." The general corruption prevailing among officials, extensive smuggling and other customs frauds, and exemptions enjoyed by foreign residents under special capitulations, deprive the Government of much income, direct and indirect. The civil list of the Khedive, including grants to the heir apparent and his two brothers, and the numerous families of the preceding viceroys, amounts to £560,000 annually, which, Mr. McCoan says, "cannot be considered excessive." An army of about 30,000 and a very poor navy consume about £900,000 a year. Economy is yet to be established, and faithful official energy to be charmed into existence. Yet trade is sound, manufacturing industry growing, and the aggregate of railway lines large—1,100 miles; and the country is also rich in harbors, docks, canals, telegraphs, and, for an Eastern land, in schools, museums, and other useful institutions, in great part creations of the reigning Khedive. Security reigns not only in the valley of the Nile, but in the adjoining abodes of the nomads. The stick of the tax-gatherer, for the use of which we hear some pleading, is less cruelly employed than formerly, and the *cave* tax greatly reduced.

We receive also an extenuating picture of slavery as it still exists in Egypt. In both Turkey and Egypt, we are told, the condition of the slave differs "*toto caelo* from that of the old Roman *servus* and the modern West Indian and American negro. . . . In the Levant he is

simply an unwaged in-door servant, whom both law and religion protect from ill-treatment, and who, as a rule, is not only as kindly used as ordinary domestics in Europe, but enjoys over them not a few advantages." In Egypt, especially, he is "rather the dependent than the slave of his owner, who treats him—far more than free servants—as a member of the family, and in cases innumerable gives him his freedom after a few years, and starts him on his way to any fortune." Ill-treatment by masters is strictly guarded against by enactments of great humanity, partly based on the teachings of the Koran, and partly inspired by a desire of emulating Occidental progress. The importation of white slaves, male or female, has declined to a very low point. "The harem market is now chiefly supplied with Abyssinians," Circassian girls being too expensive and Arab girls entering the harem only as wives. The now prevailing fashion, even among the upper classes, is to have only one wife—that is to say, one legally married. The education of the female sex, the first foundations of which have been laid, promises to exercise a considerable influence upon social conditions, even in this part of "the unchanging East." The chapters treating of both slavery and public instruction belong to the most interesting in the book. Another highly interesting chapter is devoted to the "Dairas," or administrations of the vast estates of the Viceregal family, including the great sugar-factories and rum-distilleries in the Upper Valley and the Fayoom; and agriculture, commerce, manufacturing industry, the Suez Canal, the Soedan, etc., are all amply treated. But want of space prevents us from further following our author.

#### CHINESE CURRENCY.\*

THE chief modern authority on which we have hitherto been obliged to rely in regard to Chinese paper money consists of some articles by Biot in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1837. The work now before us rests upon the same Chinese authority used by Biot, the history of Ma-twan-lin, but Mr. Vissering has subjected the original to more thorough examination, and with far greater advantages. His book is a study in Chinese and in the history of money. We propose to give a summary of the most important facts under the latter head which his book contains.

There are indications of an ancient currency of shells or beads in China, which were used for ornament in embroidery or a kind of jewelry, like the wampum of the American Indians. This was succeeded by a currency of cloth (apparently in units of a dress pattern) and knives as standards in barter, like beaver-skins among the Indians. The introduction of metallic money falls in the third thousand years before Christ. The forms in which it was first coined (by casting) appear to have been imitated from the barter currency last mentioned. Some coins are in the shape of garments and some in the shape of knives. Yellow, white, and red metals were used. Round coins, with a square hole in the middle, were introduced 1022 B.C. Cast coins of this shape represent the highest development of the art of coinage ever reached by the Chinese. Gold went out of use for money about the commencement of our era, and silver was not coined, although references to it as a monetary material occur. The supply of gold and silver in China was small, and its value high, while the cost of living for a man of the lower class was one cash per day. One thousand cash (small copper coins) were worth one tael of silver ( $\frac{1}{2}$  oz.), so that one cash was about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mills of our money. Silver was to gold as 10 to 1. Hence coins of gold or silver were not convenient.

Several concurrent traditions narrate that money was first coined by the common people in times of calamity. This seems to mean that all lived ordinarily by agriculture and exchanged by barter, but when the crops failed they took to mining copper, which they cast into coins for convenience in exchanging it for goods. It was first used for the general purposes of money by merchants. The historian mentions the development of trade and industry by the use of money only to lament it. He quotes one Lao-tsze, a philosopher who has some followers now, as follows: "The highest state of perfection of good government is reached when the people think their food sweet and their clothes beautiful; when they rejoice in their uneducated simplicity; when the inhabitants of neighboring states, who are so near each other that they can see one another, and hear the crying and barking of their fowls and dogs, have grown old and die without having had mutual intercourse."

In the year 119 B.C. white deer-skins were used as a sort of currency for levying forced loans on the grandees of the court. There is in connection with this an obscure reference to some similar token-money as

\* "On Chinese Currency, Coin, and Paper Money." By W. Vissering, LL.D. Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1871.

having been used long before. These bits of white deer-skin were conferred on the nobles as marks of honor at an arbitrary price. At about the same time coins of a mixture of tin and silver were issued at an arbitrary rating. There were three sizes, in weight as 4, 6, and 8, but they were rated in value as 300, 500, and 3,000. They were counterfeited both by officials and people. In 117 B.C. the money was restored to its real value.

About the commencement of our era a usurper restored the knife-shaped coins under two forms, one of which bore gilded symbols and was rated at 50 cash, the other at 500. By picking out the gilding the lower might be raised to the higher. This ruler introduced in all twenty-eight sorts of currency, of five substances—gold, silver, copper, tortoise-shell, and other shells. The confusion and misery which ensued led to his assassination.

During the division of the empire the abuses of money went on. In 465 A.D. a deposed emperor coined very thin light coins which were at once counterfeited. As soon as the money was depreciated the most lucrative occupation was "making money." These coins were called "weed-leaves." One thousand coins piled together were only three inches high. Some were as thin as a thread. A statesman of this period declared that the reason why the stringent laws did not prevent false coining was that the Government itself did not make its coins of full weight. He taught that "money is an instrument in daily use to further exchange." In the Northern Empire the depreciation was such that a pound of copper could be bought for 81 cash, and 200 cash-pieces could be made from it by the false coiners. It was provided that a string of 100 cash of standard weight should be hung over the gate of the market, and in lodging-houses and shops.

In 622 a reform of the coins was brought about, but not enough were supplied. The false coiners, therefore, still kept at work. The good coins were hoarded or melted. Forty years later the good money was abolished. A decree of 734 introduced barter, apparently in despair of the coinage problem. In 758 coins were cast of the legal weight, but arbitrarily rated. Prices rose enormously, and hundreds died on the roads from want. Recourse was had to stones for grinding rice, which had a fixed value, as money. By the abuse of money the nation had robbed itself of money. It lost all the advantages of money, and had to return to barter. It could not support the population which had been produced under the advantages of the money system.

At the end of the eighth century we find the first mention of paper money of any form. It consisted of certificates of deposit called "flying money," issued for coin deposited by merchants to avoid the risk and trouble of carrying the heavy coins in use. It was soon abolished—we are not informed for what reason. In 809 it was proposed to reintroduce flying money, and to issue it either for money or merchandise deposited, charging a premium on the notes of 100 cash on every 1,000 string (string of 1,000 cash?). None accepted this invitation, and the premium was abolished. The paper, however, did not yet come into use.

In 817 a decree fixed the amount of coin which any one might possess at 5,000 string, and ordered anything over this amount possessed by any one to be expended within a month. Next it was forbidden to use copper in ornamenting Buddha images, or for any but a few specified implements in the temple. Then it was proposed to confiscate the copper in the temples. "Intestine division and anarchy increase more and more," and there is a gap of forty years in the history. "Within the period of 53 years (907-960) there reigned five different imperial families. In these times of commotion and bloodshed the monetary history is confined to the abolition of the existing [regulations] and the introduction of all sorts of restrictive measures."

At the end of the tenth century iron coins were introduced, and the former troubles were enhanced by those of a double standard. The legal ratio is given as 10 of copper to 1 of iron, but the coins were cast in the ratio of 12 to 5 gross weight, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, pure contents. Other coins give a ratio of 5 to 1. The only reason assigned for these variations is that the iron coins, if of the weight which value required, were inconveniently heavy. The value of either metal was so slight and variable that a constant ratio could not be established. There was considerable exportation of coin, but it was not free and active enough to work out the effect of incorrect rating in that way. The false coiners effected the same result. They coined the cheaper metal and exchanged coins of it at a profit of from 100 to 200 per cent. There came to be in use (1) large copper coins with a weight of 3, and a nominal value of 10, small copper coins; (2) small copper coins at a premium in iron; (3) small iron coins of no constant value. A reformer arose who proposed a coin of six parts iron and

three parts copper. "He was convinced" that this would overcome the difficulty. The iron, however, was found too hard to work, and the values were not properly adjusted, so this scheme was abandoned. The false coiners only varied their industry by making the large copper coins, which, at the above rating, offered them even greater profits than iron coins. By rating the small copper coins at two iron coins each, and correcting the rating of the large copper coins, the false coining was stopped, but other evils remained, for the iron coins had only half the value in bullion which they had as coins. In the end iron coins were restricted to some provinces, and copper coins to others.

At the end of the eleventh century a plan of advances of capital to poor men, to enable them to cultivate the fields, was tried. Through the dishonesty of officials the interest and the repayments were not collected by the Government, "distress and impoverishment taking the place of the expected advantages to the people, while, on the part of the state, vast sums were irrecoverably lost."

In 960 paper money appears again. In the Western provinces it was issued by a bank or syndicate of wealthy families against a deposit of coin. The Government, adopting the plan, opened offices in the treasury at the capital, at one of which deposits might be made and at the other notes obtained. A premium of two per cent. was charged for the latter. These notes were like warehouse receipts, and were issued for merchandise as well as for money. In 1011 bills of exchange were first issued. They soon displaced the former notes. Conversion on demand was never provided for. The bills were drawn for a term of sixty-five years, and every three years there was to be an opportunity for demanding their redemption in specie. The "basis" deposited when the first issue was made was three-sevenths of its amount. At first the issue was strictly limited in amount. It is easy to see what great advantages these notes offered. At the prescribed periods few demands for redemption were made. The reserve fund was therefore neglected, and finally used for other purposes. In 1076, when the term expired, the notes could not be redeemed; but in anticipation of this a new issue had been made in 1072, for twenty-five terms of redemption of three years each. The old issue was "redeemed" with these, if at all. In 1107 the bills of exchange of one province were changed into irredeemable bills of credit. The circulation of bills was now twenty times what it had been in 1023, and their value had depreciated. Few had been redeemed. Notes of the new issue were worth one for four of the old. The "bank for the issue of bills of exchange" was now changed into the "bank for the issue of bills of credit," and a new issue was made for forty-three terms of one year each, to bring the two former issues to a round sum. A magistrate's report shows that a depreciation existed by which a note issued for 1,000 cash was worth 100; soon after it was only worth 10. To force a circulation of the bills the Government decided to pay out only bills, or, if it paid out cash, to deduct one or two tenths.

About 1125-7 the Tartars invaded the Empire. To keep up the war against them unlimited paper issues were made, and every expedient was tried to give them circulation. Some were issued bearing the name of gold and silver weights, and promising payment in those metals after the war. In 1131 two new forms of paper were issued. One was "frontier-notes," with which to buy supplies for the army. These seem to have been orders on the custom-houses for cash collected by them. They were redeemable also in receipts for Government products, which, in turn, were redeemable at the Government stores by the merchandise specified. These notes had three years to run. In the second year a man might pay half his taxes in these notes. Another kind of paper is called bonds, issued nominally for deposits of money or goods, but, as it seems, nothing but bills of credit. These were multiplied in vast issues, and seem to have become the prevailing form. In 1166 they were exchanged for other notes at 10 on the 100. Then followed tyrannical decrees about exchanging and rating, accepting and refusing, and redeeming and deferring, the notes, too numerous to mention. In 1209 the bonds had been issued in such quantities that they did not perform the functions of money at all. New notes were printed on paper mixed with satin and saturated with olibanum, and issued at one for two of the old. Confidence was now entirely destroyed, and the inquisitorial proceedings of the Government, encouraging accusations and denunciations, spread distrust and terror throughout the community.

Paper money had long been used in the western provinces as well as in the central provinces, whose history we have followed. In 1210, after the old bills of the western provinces had been twice withdrawn, they were equal to the new ones. The Tartars had also borrowed the invention, and, last of all, it had been introduced into the eastern provinces.

The consequence was that in the thirteenth century the whole empire was overwhelmed by the mischiefs which it produced, amounting to anarchy and almost a dissolution of society. Adjectives seem vague and feeble when used to describe such a state of things. Vissering thus sums up the picture as presented by the Chinese historians : "Provisions rise in price, trade is paralyzed, weeds cover the fertile fields, false coiners spring up like clouds, the officials practise extortion on the people, the posterity of those who were born in affluence die miserably from want, and the bodies of tens of thousands, not killed by the sword of the enemy but starved with hunger, cover all the roads of the empire." He also gives the following summary of the work of Wang-ki, the continuator of Ma-twan-lin : "One issue succeeded another. New names were invented to delude the people. Solemn promises were made that henceforth the Government would fulfil what it had charged itself with. The result was that again and again old debts were paid by incurring new in order to defer the impending bankruptcy of the state."

In 1260 China was conquered by Genghis Khan. The Mongols, however, continued to use paper money, and in time it ruined them also. We have no detailed history of it. Vissering thinks the people did not use it except in transactions with the Government. In the middle of the sixteenth century China was conquered by the Mandchus, when paper money was abolished. The fundamental reason for the long mistakes of the Chinese in the matter of currency seems to have been that they could not devise a good system of public finance. They did not issue paper money when they had a surplus revenue or were at peace or to aid private debtors. In very recent times banks of issue have been established in some cities of China. They are under stringent obligations to redeem on demand, and their circulation is very limited in area. The Government engages in this business, but under banking rules and not as a political power.

This book contains a fac-simile of a venerable greenback issued in 1375.

*Manners and Customs of ye Harvard Studente.* By F. G. Attwood. (Boston : J. R. Osgood & Co. 1877.)—These cartoons from the *Harvard Lampoon*, the work of a student in his leisure moments, deserve the honor of being reproduced and bound together. Whether we consider the humor displayed in them, the fidelity of characterization, or the skillful draughtsmanship, they take a high rank in caricature. We recall nothing so good of their kind in this country, and, as we ventured to remark the other day in speaking of the *Lampoon*, Mr. Attwood is a worthy disciple of Richard Doyle, who, in his "Jones, Brown & Robinson" and other familiar outlines in *Punch*, stands at the head of the school. It is easy to pick out the best of these twenty-six cartoons, and yet the average is remarkably well sustained. The smaller the canvas, so to speak (there are sometimes two drawings on a page), and the larger the scale, the poorer, as a rule, is the result. Mr. Attwood is strongest, and is very strong, in dealing with crowds, which he endows with singular vivacity and individuality, and he has a rare sense of perspective. These qualities shine in the views of commons in Memorial Hall, of the foot-ball game, the Republican torchlight procession, the Class-Day procession, the Class-Day exercises around the tree, etc. In the three last mentioned the

movement of marching and swinging round the circle is admirably suggested, and so, in a more exaggerated and less artistic way, is the rush for prayers : an unseemly spectacle, which we hope may be soon abolished by removing the cause. Most of the designs depict the *militia* with an accuracy that may be relied upon by those who have never been at Harvard. The college yard, with its trees, walks, and buildings, and the various interiors, are truthfully sketched both in the cartoons already selected for praise and also in the fencing scene in the gymnasium, the recitation and examination rooms, and the scene at the boat-houses—the last showing a delightful bit of landscape on the banks of the Charles. Some of the less edifying and least successful designs will confirm the opinion which we have heard expressed that, if a better education is to be had at Harvard nowadays than before President Eliot's revolutionary incumbency, the opportunities for wasting one's time are also greatly increased.

Mr. Attwood is still a contributor to the *Lampoon*, and the best of its humorous artists ; but in departing from outlines his defects appear and his superiority disappears. We shall doubtless have from him in due season a volume, uniform with the present, on the "Manners and Customs of ye Bostonians," in which he has already made some happy hits.

*A Book for the Beginner in Anglo-Saxon.* By John Earle, M.A. (New York : Macmillan & Co. 1877.)—Mr. Earle has prepared a manual for comparatively elementary pupils. He is well known as an Anglo-Saxon scholar, and also as the author of a popular work, the "Philology of the English Tongue." Twenty-nine of the ninety-five pages are taken up with selections from the several Gospels, and the remainder with grammar, including three valuable pages on poetry. Except that it lacks a vocabulary, it contains enough to start a pupil very well. In simplicity the book is preferable, for certain classes of beginners, to any that we have seen. The author pleads (in the preface) for the wider study of Anglo-Saxon, as tending to furnish a ground for thought-barrier between the graduate and non-graduate world. He introduces the distinction of symbolic and presentive words—elaborated in the "Philology"—and gives good illustrations of it, though the distinction seems too refined for mere beginners. The forms of the pronoun of the first person are given more fully than those of the third, which are not given fully enough. The syntax is brief, but the treatment is interesting and valuable.

Mr. Earle has allowed his book to contain some errors which revision would have removed. The old character for *wén* is retained in many modern books, and is as unfamiliar as either *edh* or *thorn*. *A* and *i* have other sounds than those mentioned on p. 1, and it is not likely that the Anglo-Saxon *u* had the neutral sound heard in *but*. The presentive *héd* exists in the modern symbolic *-head* as well as *-hood*. The terms *strong* and *weak* are used in different senses in describing the inflections ; and in defining the strong and weak declensions of adjectives the author says the opposite of what he intended. On p. 28 the genitive and dative case-forms have changed places in the singular of the weak declension, and on p. 36 (seventh line from top) *ordinal* should be *cardinal*. The correction of these and of some other errors will, with the addition of a vocabulary, add much to the value of the book.

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